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THE PHOENICIAN INSCRIPTIONS OF THE TENTH CENTURY B. C. FROM BYBLUS

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THE DISCOVERY in 1923 of the sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblus, was at the time a scholarly sensation.[1] Two fragments of alabaster vases, found in the débris which filled the tomb itself and the adjacent shaft leading to the surface, bore the name of Ramesses II, and were naturally believed to date the contents of the tomb to the thirteenth century B. C. Moreover, several of the Phoenician letters in the Ahiram inscription were so archaic in appearance that it seemed only natural to date them centuries before the Mesha Stone, at that time the oldest datable document in the North-Semitic alphabet. Since the Mesha Stone is fixed by Israelite synchronisms to about 835 B. C., a date for the Ahiram sarcophagus in the thirteenth century did not seem unreasonable.

However, doubts began to be heard almost at once. When Dussaud issued the official publication of the Ahiram inscription in 1924 he included a discussion of the epigraph of Abibaal, king of Byblus, which had been published by Clermont-Ganneau in 1903.[2] Before 1924 no scholar had been able to decipher the text satisfactorily, owing to the presence of an archaic *kaph*, which was then read as *shin* and dated much too late. The inscription had been incised on a large fragment of a statue of Shishak, first king of the Twenty-second Dynasty, who reigned cir. 935-915 B. C.[3] It now became clear that the Phoenician text must have been incised on the statue during the lifetime of Shishak, or immediately after the latter's death. The script of the Ahiram and Abibaal inscriptions is so nearly identical that it no longer seemed quite so evident that the former dated at least three centuries before the latter.

In 1925 Dussaud published a torso belonging to a statue of Osorkon I (cir. 915-885 B. C.), son and successor of Shishak, three fragments of which had been known for several decades and had finally been acquired by the Louvre.[4] Additional fragments of the same statue were excavated by Montet and Dunand at Byblus in the following years.[5] This statue bore an inscription of Elibaal of Byblus, in the same archaic script, obviously almost contemporary with the statue itself. Dussaud's publication was followed by the discovery of other inscriptions in the same script, especially that of Yeḥimilk, king of Byblus, published by Dunand in 1930.[6] None of these other inscriptions added anything to the solution of the chronological picture.

The present writer had meanwhile been lowering his date for Ahiram from the twelfth century to

[1] On this inscription see the bibliography given by Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte* (1928), p. 238, n. 1, to which should be added especially Torrey, *JAOS* 45 (1925), 269 ff.; S. A. Cook, *Pal. Expl. Fund, Quar. State.*, 57 (1925), 210 ff.; Albright, *JPOS* 6 (1926), 76 ff.; S. Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph*, 12 (1927), 1-40; Lidzbarski, *Or. Lit.-zeit.*, 1927, cols. 453 ff. Reproductions of the text, with photographs, are given by Montet; Vincent, *Rev. Bib.*, 1925, 183 ff. and Pl. VIII; Ronzevalle, *op. cit.*, Pl. I-IV, who gives by far the best.

[2] See *Syria*, V (1924), 145 ff., and for a bibliography of the inscription see Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 57; the latest treatment is by B. Maisler, *Leshonenu* 14 (1946), 174 f. For photographs see Clermont-Ganneau, *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale*, VI, 74 and Pl. II.

[3] See *BASOR*, No. 100, 16 ff., for my dating of Rehoboam (cir. 922-915), on which the chronology of Shishak must rest, since the fifth year of the former fell not long before the 21st of the latter: i. e., Shishak's 21st year must be dated soon after 918/7 B. C.

[4] See Montet, *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 54, for a bibliography; the text is published by Montet on Pl. XXXVI-XXXVII. Additional fragments of the statue were published by Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I (1939), 17 f., one containing a vital word of four letters.

[5] Three fragments of the statue (one of which seems later to have been lost) were reported in 1881 in a private collection and two subsequently entered the Louvre; three were excavated by Montet and two were recovered by Dunand in the neighborhood.

[6] See *Rev. Bib.*, 1930, 321 ff., and the official edition in *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 30 and Pl. XXXI.

about 1000 B. C. (" not later than cir. 975 B. C."), against strong opposition from most scholars.[7] However, the discovery of alphabetic inscriptions from the thirteenth century B. C. at Lachish and elsewhere in Palestine made it increasingly clear that the script of these Byblian documents was much too developed to belong to that century. In 1942 the writer pointed out that the potsherds of Cypriote type which were found in the débris of the entrance shaft could not antedate the middle of the eleventh century.[8] In 1943 Aimé-Giron independently dated the Ahiram sarcophagus in the tenth century,[9] and in 1946 Maisler followed him in this reduction of the chronology.[10] Finally, in April, 1946, Dunand reversed his earlier position after a detailed study of the sherds from the entrance shaft, and dated the sarcophagus about 1000 B. C.[11] There is, accordingly, at long last, general accord as to the date of this important monument.

In 1945 Dunand published a new royal inscription from Byblus, belonging this time to a king named Shipiṭ-Ba'al, whom he dated provisionally in the sixteenth or seventeenth century B. C.[12] Since his reduction of the date of Ahiram by a quarter millennium, he would perhaps also lower this date by several centuries. Aside from the *beth,* all letters in this and a shorter inscription published at the same time have substantially the same form as in the other, previously published, royal inscriptions from Byblus. In 1946 both Maisler and the writer came out against Dunand's relative chronology, placing Shipiṭ-Ba'al after the tenth-century group already established, not before it.[13] The forms of letters are in a number of cases relatively late and the aberrant *beth* is probably an ephemeral cursive form, without influence on the development of the script as a whole.[14] Maisler was inclined to lower the dates of these rulers either to the period 950-750 B. C. or to 1000-800 B. C.[15] In the writer's judgment there is no need to date any of them after the beginning of the ninth century, and the group as a whole belongs to the tenth century; see below for details.

When the first documents of this category were published there was much less external evidence bearing on grammar, lexicography and spelling

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[7] See " The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization," *Studies in the History of Culture* (*Leland Anniversary Volume*), 1942, pp. 34 f., n. 78, and the epigraphic discussion, *BASOR,* No. 92 (1943), 19. Spiegelberg and Lidzbarski had never accepted the high chronology of the excavators.

[8] Cf. the preceding note. This argument holds, but it must be remembered that the middle of the eleventh century is a *terminus a quo*; the sherds may easily be half a century or even a century later. It must also be remembered that there seems to be something of a lag between the appearance of this pottery in Phoenicia (as controlled by Palestinian evidence) and its spread to Cyprus.

[9] *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte,* 1943, pp. 284 ff., quoted from Maisler, *op. cit.,* p. 178, n. 53.

[10] *Op. cit.,* p. 178.

[11] *Byblia Grammata,* " Post-scriptum," pp. 197 ff. (circulated after publication of the book). His revision of previous views is based primarily on the finding of typical Iron-I pottery in some unexcavated débris in the shaft of the Ahiram tomb. His further view that the sarcophagus was usurped by Ittobaal for his father and that the carved representations on it are older than the latter is very tempting, though not yet demonstrable because of our lack of comparable Phoenician reliefs of known date.

[12] *Byblia Grammata,* Beyrouth, 1945, pp. 146 ff. The high date is based primarily on the context in which the 'Abda' sherd was discovered (p. 155), but since the sherd was not sealed in with these objects by a floor or layer of ashes and since the objects themselves do not seem to be very characteristic, the argument remains weak. To me the 'Abda' sherd looks like an object from Early Iron I (cf. also Maisler, *op. cit.,* pp. 167 f., though he inclines to a still later date, for which there is no evidence, in my opinion).

[13] See Maisler, *op. cit.* (*Leshonenu,* 14, 166 ff.); the writer, *BASOR,* No. 102, 20, and 103, 14 f.

[14] It is now certain that the peculiar quasi-cursive *aleph* of Ahiram is a local graphic peculiarity, which did not last long, since it is absent from both earlier and later inscriptions. The backward thrust of the bottom horizontal stroke of *beth* in Yeḥimilk and 'Abda' is also an ephemeral graphic fad, somewhat analogous to the backward thrust often found at the bottom of a cursive Hebrew *beth* of today (originating in ligatures, as pointed out to me by Julian Obermann). It cannot be used as an argument for an early date for these inscriptions relative to the others of our group, especially since other letters, such as *mem,* are distinctly later in type.

[15] Maisler was led to lower his dates unduly for Shipiṭ-Ba'al and the latter's immediate precursors by his insistence on the identification of the latter with the *Si-pí-it-ti-bi-'i-il* who paid tribute to Tiglath-pileser III about 738 B. C. (or a little earlier). However, the name appears again in the fifth century as that of a king of Byblus, while it also appears among Canaanite names in the Amarna Letters from the early fourteenth century B. C. as *Šipṭi-Ba'al.* Moreover, the script of the late ninth and eighth century in Phoenicia and Syria is very well known, and no such archaisms appear in any Northwest-Semitic inscriptions belonging to the middle of the ninth century and later. There is, accordingly, no reason whatever to give up the secure synchronisms with early Bubastite Egypt.

than there is today. All scholars made numerous mistakes. No new material approaches in significance the mass of tablets from Ugarit (Ras esh-Shamrah), which will immensely facilitate all future investigation in the field of the early Northwest-Semitic dialects.[16] It is true that some scholars, including particularly Albrecht Goetze, have insisted on the autonomy of Ugaritic and have been inclined to minimize the relationship existing between Ugaritic and South Canaanite.[17] Our observations on the inscriptions will bring out our own position.

I. INSCRIPTION ON THE SARCOPHAGUS OF AHIRAM (EARLY TENTH CENTURY B. C.).[18]

ארן . זפעל . [א]תבעל . בן אחרם . מלך גבל . לאחרם .
אבה . כש<ב>תוהז[19] . בעלם . ואל . מלך . במלכם .
וסכן .

בם<כ>נם . ותמא . מחנת . עלי<על>[20] . גבל .
ויגל . ארן .
זן . תחתסף . חטר . משפטה . תהתפך . כסא . מלכה .
ונחת . תברח . על . גבל . והא . ימח ספרה . לפף .
שבל[21]

The coffin which[22] [It]tobaal, son of Ahiram, king of Byblus, made for his father as his ab(o)de in eternity. And if[23] any king or any governor

---

[16] The number of verbal coincidences between Ugaritic and Byblian texts is very remarkable, as we shall see below. Of course, in judging them we must remember that the Ugaritic epics of Baal, Keret and Aqhat (Dan'el) were composed farther south, in Phoenicia proper, as is clear from the place-names and the divine names which they contain. I do not deny that their language has been modified somewhat by the Ugaritic dialect in which they are written, but this can hardly have been true of their vocabulary as a whole.

[17] See especially Goetze, *Language*, 17 (1941), 127 ff. I have been intending for several years to reply in detail; for the present cf. my discussion of method in *Cath. Bib. Quar.*, 1945, 14-18.

[18] In dealing with these inscriptions I shall not attempt to repeat what my precursors have established, except where it has been disregarded more recently; for details students must examine the literature on each inscription.

[19] Hitherto the reading of the text, כשתה, has been accepted by all except Ronzevalle, who queried the final *he* and proposed כשתר (*op. cit.*, pp. 21 f.), which he equated with Heb. סתר, "place of concealment, shelter." However, if all remaining cases of *he* and *resh* are compared, it becomes clear that it is just as easy to complete the character above by filling out two horizontal strokes as it is to fill out the head of the *resh*, which would occupy the same position with reference to the surviving traces. Moreover, Ronzevalle's etymology is impossible phonetically. It is true that the verb *št* has now been well established for older Canaanite from Ugaritic, and that Friedrich's proposal to vocalize *kī šāta-hu ba-'ōlam* (*i*) (*Mélanges Dussaud*, I, 43, below), i. e., "when he put him in eternity (= the tomb)," remains possible. However, in view of the certain omission of a letter in the sixth word following ours and the highly probable omission of a whole word immediately afterwards, my proposed reading *ka-š‹ib›tih* (*u*) = Heb. *kə-šibtô*, "as his dwelling," becomes almost certain, in my judgment. Both Hebrew and Ugaritic provide close analogies to this expression. Note especially the phrase in the prayer of Solomon, מכון לשבתך עולמים, "a dais for thy dwelling (= enthronement) for ever" (I Kings 8: 13 and II Chron. 6: 2) and the phrase *ks'u ṯbty*(*h*), "throne of my abode (sitting)," etc., in Ugaritic literature (e. g., V AB, F: 15). Note Accad. *šubtu*, "dwelling," for **šibtu*.

[20] Since 1926 I have felt that the haplographical ellipsis of *'l* must be assumed here, but it is the preposition, not the verb, which was accidentally omitted by the stonecutter. There can no longer be any doubt that the spelling עלי is correct for the perfect of a verb *tertiae yodh* but false for the preposition. Final *yodh* appears in these tenth-century documents in the perfects בני (twice) and חוי, "he restored" (*pi'el*); cf. Harris, *A Grammar of the Phoenician Language*, 1936 (cited hereafter as *Grammar*), p. 45. Pronounce *banaį*, etc.; the diphthong remained uncontracted because during the Late Bronze Age, when diphthongs were being contracted in Canaanite (Ugaritic, Amarna, most Egyptian transcriptions of the New Empire), the final short vowel had not yet been elided and the form was pronounced *bánaya*. The preposition appears as על in Ahiram, Yeḥimilk, Abibaal and Shipiṭ-Ba'al; see n. 43 for its occurrence in Elibaal. Whether it was pronounced *'al* or *'alê* or both, as in Hebrew, we cannot say; in any case the original diphthong had been contracted in Late Bronze. "To go up against" is the normal Hebrew expression for "attack"; for the use of a perfect in the protasis and imperfects in the apodosis see Gesenius-Kautzsch, *Hebräische Grammatik*[28], p. 519, § 159 n.

[21] This word has been a stumbling block, but the reading *resh* for the second letter may be considered as almost certainly wrong after my discussion, JPOS VII, 122 ff., and especially after Ronzevalle's treatment (*loc. cit.*). On the other hand, my attempt to read מתבל must be ruled out completely, not only because of the epigraphic traces, but also because the evidence against the use of a preposition *min*, "from," in Canaanite increases constantly (see n. 42).

[22] The relative translation is now certainly to be preferred to the demonstrative; see especially Friedrich, *Mélanges Dussaud*, I (1939), 39-47.

[23] The rendering "if" is now accepted by nearly all translators; the alternative identification with the Hebrew preposition *'el*, "to," encounters very serious difficulties, since the preposition in question has not been found hitherto in either Ugaritic or Phoenician, and since the resulting syntax is very awkward. The explanation of the form is still uncertain; I adhere to my

or any army commander attacks Byblus and exposes [24] this coffin, let his judicial scepter be broken, let his royal throne be overthrown,[25] and let peace [26] flee from Byblus; and as for him, let a vagabond(?) [27] efface [28] his inscription(s)!

Ia. GRAFFITO ON THE SIDE OF THE TOMB SHAFT OF AHIRAM.

(1) לדעת · (2) הן יפד [29] לך · (3) תחת זן

(1) Attention! (2) Behold, thou shalt come to grief [30] (3) below here!

II. INSCRIPTION OF YEḤIMILK (MIDDLE OF TENTH CENTURY B. C.).

1. בת · זבני · יחמלך · מלך גבל
2. יהזאת [31] · חוי · כל · מפלת · הבתם
3. אל · יארך · בעלשמם · ובעל<ת> [32]
4. גבל · ומפחרת · אל גבל
5. קדשם · ימת · יחמלך · ושנתו
6. על גבל · כמלך · צדק · ומלך
7. ישר · לפן · אל גבל · קידשם

---

tentative identification of the word with Heb. *'ûlái*, "perhaps, if," which suits the context here exactly as it does in such passages as Gen. 18: 24.

[24] The form is a characteristic imperfect with *waw* consecutive, agreeing in tense with the previous perfect עלי; here, then, we have the form which Harris missed (*Grammar*, p. 39). In this connection it may be added that the Nora text from the ninth century adds to the examples of the Phoenician perfect with *waw* consecutive cited by Harris (*BASOR*, No. 83, 19).

[25] As has already been pointed out by several scholars (cf. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 179) this passage agrees almost word for word with I AB, vi: 28 f., which forms the final cola of the tricolon *l-ys' 'alt ṯbtk l-yhpk ks'a mlkk lyṯbr ḫṭ mṯpṭk* = "May he (El) tear out the pillars (?) of thy dwelling, || may he overturn the throne of thy kingship, || may he break thy judicial staff!" As Torrey and Ginsberg have pointed out, the Phoenician gender of the nouns is feminine, agreeing with Ugaritic and Accadian against Hebrew.

[26] The meaning of the passage has been clear since 1927; cf. *JPOS* VII, 125. The word *nḥt* (i. e., *nôḥát* < **nauḥatu*), "peace," corresponds to Heb. *mənûḥáh*, which has just this meaning, e. g., I Kings 8: 56); it occurs as *nḫt* also in Ugaritic (V AB, D: 47 = Keret II, vi: 24), where *l-nḫt l-kḫt drkt* should be rendered "on the peaceful throne of authority," resolving the characteristic hendiadys.

[27] The last two words have been an enigma ever since the publication of the text. The latest suggestion is Gaster's (*Iraq*, VI, 140, n. 222), reading לפף תבל, "from the face of the earth," or the like. If it were not for the fact that my reading must be given up, as shown effectively by Ronzevalle (*loc. cit.*), I should be strongly inclined to accept it. לפף I derive directly from *lpp* (Aram., Accad., Arab. *lpp*, "to wind") in the sense of "wend (one's way)"; cf. also Arab. *liff, lafîf*, "crowd, mob." The word *šbl* can scarcely be separated from Heb. *šəbîl*, Aram. *šḇîlâ*, Arab. *sabîl*, "road, way," so *lôpep šabîl*, or the like, would mean "wayfarer, vagabond." It may be added that the word *šbl*, "road," is found in two Edomite (so!; cf. the independent conclusions of Noth, *Zeits. Deutsch. Pal.-Ver.*, 1938, 277-304, and myself, *Archiv f. Orientf.*, XII, 385 f.) names of places in the Shishak List, lines 73-76; one is *Šblt Ngby(t)* (so!; the inserted *r* is vertical dittography), "Southern Roads," the other is *Šblt Wrkyt*, "Northern Roads" (cf. Heb. ירכתי צפון, "extreme north").

[28] *Ymḥ* can only be jussive singular, *qal* or *nif'al*; indicative sing. and jussive plural would be written *ymḥy*.

[29] This reading was established by Vincent, *Rev. Bib.*, 1925, Pl. VIII, and p. 189, n. 1.

[30] Vincent's interpretation, *hnypd lk* from a supposed verb *ypd*, "look out for thyself!", is unparalleled linguistically. He should have adhered to his own combination with Heb. *pîd*, "misfortune, ruin," which offers admirable sense; cf. the Arabic *fâda, yafûdu, faud*, "to die, dying, death," and *fá'ida*, "to suffer a stroke" (from *fu'âd* = Ugar. *p'ed*, "heart, etc."), *faid*, "dying." Note also the possible Aramaic cognates *pwd* (*paudâ*, "error") and *pdd*, "to err, wander." The syntax is easy; note the frequent use of the impersonal construction with the masc. sing. passive in Arabic (Wright-de Goeje, II, pp. 268 f., § 133) and with the intransitive or passive followed by ל in Hebrew (König, *Lehrgebäude*, III, pp. 351 ff., §§ 323 f.), indicating a possible vocalization *yupâd*.

[31] I have no hesitation whatever in reading *he* instead of *zayin* here—the photographic reproduction in *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, Pl. XXXI, 2 seems particularly clear, since the lower end of the vertical shaft of *he* appears on it distinctly. Since the זאת hitherto read here by all scholars is grammatically unintelligible, it must in any case be discarded. In favor of reading the emphatic demonstrative and personal pronoun ending in *t* here is the fact that the plural *hmt*, "they, them, those," Ugar. *hmt*, is common in Phoenician, and that the forms *hwt*, "he, him," and *hyt*, "she, her," have now been proved to exist in Ugaritic (Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, § 5. 10 f., p. 23). Previously these forms were known to exist in South Arabic (Sabaean *hwt* and *hyt*, whence Ethiopic *we'étū* and *ye'étī*, from **húwatu* and **híyati*, respectively), while parallel forms were known from Egyptian (*śwt* and **śyt* beside *św* and *śy*) and Accadian (*šu'atu* and *ši'ati* beside Old Accad. *su'a* and *si'a*). The alternation of *waw* and *aleph* in these forms is, of course, well illustrated by Arabic *huwa* and *hiya* beside Heb.-Phoen. *hū'* and *hī'*. Phoenician thus possessed the following personal pronouns of the third person singular: masc. *hû'*, fem. *hî'*, emphatic masc. *hû'at*, fem. **hî'at*.

[32] Since no such deity as "Baal-Gebal" is otherwise

(1) The temple which Yeḥimilk, king of Byblus, built—(2) it was he who restored [33] the ruins of these temples. (3) May Baal-shamem [34] and Baal-(ath)-Gebal (4) and the assembly [35] of the holy gods of Byblus (5) prolong the days of Yeḥimilk and his years (6) over Byblus as a rightful king and a true (7) king [36] before the h[oly] gods of Byblus! [37]

III. INSCRIPTION OF ABIBAAL ON STATUE OF SHISHAK (CIR. 925 B. C.).

1. [מש (?) זי] רבזא [38] . אבבעל . מלך [גבל .
ביחמלך (?) [39] .

2. מלך.] גבל . במ[צ]רם [40] . לבעל[ת . גבל .
אדתן [41] . תארך .
בעלת . גבל . ימת . אבבעל . ושנתו .] על גבל

(1) [The statue (?) which] Abibaal, king of [Byblus, son of Yeḥimilk (?), (2) king] of

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known, while Baalath-Gebal appears repeatedly in these texts, we may rest assured that the omission of the final *tau* was a slip of the stone-cutter, presumably due to the fact that he had just carved the name *Ba'al-shamêm*.

[33] On the meaning and etymology of this word (vocalized approximately *ḥawwáy* for old **ḥáwwaya*) see *JBL*, 1944, 223, n. 108.

[34] *Ba'al-shamêm*, "Lord of Heaven," is evidently the name of Baalath-Gebal's consort. The problem of this deity is far from settled; cf. most recently Eissfeldt, *Zeits. Alttest. Wiss.*, 1939, 1-30, and Levi della Vida, *JBL*, 1944, 1-9 (where on p. 6, n. 24, my remarks in *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel*, p. 72, have been misinterpreted).

[35] It has been pointed out by several scholars (cf. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 179) that *mpḫrt 'l Gbl* is paralleled closely by Ugaritic *mpḫrt bn 'El*.

[36] It has not yet been observed that there is a striking verbal parallel between this passage, in which the abstract nouns *ṣdq* and *yšr* are successively combined with *mlk*, "king," and Keret I, i: 12 f.: *'aṯt ṣdqh l-ypq mtrḫt yšrh* = "Let him find his rightful wife, || his true spouse."

[37] Note the length of the sentence in lines 3-7. There can be no doubt that Phoenician prose could be quite involved, though probably less so than the rhetorical prose of the Canaanites of the Bronze Age, whose case-endings and modal endings served to avert confusion. Note the extraordinary length of some sentences in the Prologue of the Code of Hammurabi. However, it is also to be observed that subordinate clauses, so familiar in Hebrew prose of the Deuteronomic type (seventh-sixth centuries B. C. [cf. *BASOR*, No. 73, 21]), appear to be missing.

[38] The character before *aleph* is lost, except for the slanting stroke on its upper left, which Clermont-Ganneau's photograph shows to be drawn a little too far down in the line by Montet (*Rev. Bib.*, 1926, Pl. VI; *Byblos et l'Égypte*, p. 53). There is only one letter which this stroke will fit, a *beth*. I do not, therefore, hesitate to restore *z-yb'* instead of the *yṯn'* or *nš'* which have hitherto been popular (though neither *nun* nor *shin* fits the traces). The form *yb'* is causative perfect in Phoenician; the fact that this form has not yet been found in such an early text is doubtless accidental. The meaning of Heb. *hēbî'*, "he caused to come, he brought," fits perfectly into the text; see n. 40.

[39] Abibaal may have been an older brother of Elibaal, or possibly a younger brother of Yeḥimilk; other possibilities are naturally not excluded. For the correct explanation of the previously enigmatical [ ]ביח in the Elibaal inscription as "son of Yeḥimilk" see the discussion by Maisler, *op. cit.*, pp. 172 f. The phonetic reduction of *ben*, "son," to *b* occurs also in the cuneiform alphabetic inscription from about the thirteenth century B. C. published by Yeivin (cf. *BASOR*, No. 99, p. 21) and in the two recently published Byblian inscriptions (our Nos. V and Va); Maisler has gone too far in the enthusiasm of discovery in making further identifications, but I am very much impressed with his Phoenician(!) source for the name *Bidqar* in *Bindikiri*, which occurs with other *Phoenician* names in an Assyrian tablet of the seventh century. As H. L. Ginsberg has correctly pointed out, *n* remains unassimilated before laryngeals.

[40] This reading seems certain to me, despite Maisler's objections (*loc. cit.*). The traces in Clermont-Ganneau's photograph of the squeeze are indeed rather wide for a narrow character, but they are much too narrow for two characters; *ṣade* is in fact the widest archaic Phoenician character, as a rule. Moreover, the horizontal traces at the right agree only with the horizontal strokes in the tenth-century *ṣade*, for which cf. the arrow-head of Ruweiseh (Guigues and Ronzevalle, *Mélanges de l'Université St.-Joseph*, 1926, 325-358) and the Gezer Calendar (cf. *BASOR*, No. 92, 20). In fact, all that is missing is the short vertical stroke at the left, which may be present, but is not clear in the photograph. Clermont-Ganneau, Lidzbarski, Montet and their successors are thus correct in reading *Miṣrêm*. The only personal name containing the consonants *M..rm* known to me is *Milkirâm* (*Malkirâm*), but the traces preclude any such reading.

[41] This word is not to be read *'adotto* (or the like), as supposed hitherto, but unquestionably *'adottew* (or the like), corresponding to the Hebrew masculine *'adōnāw* (older *'adōnēw* [*BASOR*, No. 92, 22, n. 27]), "his lord." In Hebrew the masculine appears (except in the case of *'adōnî*, "my lord," which was evidently used in addressing men in order to obviate any confusion with *'adōnai* as an appellation of Yahweh) nearly always (virtually always with pronominal suffixes) as an honorific plural (*pluralis majestatis*) applied both to God and to men. We should, therefore, expect the same usage where the feminine form of the word is applied to a goddess. However, just as in Hebrew we find the masculine singular used with the first person in Punic *donni*, "my lord" (Plautus); the derived Greek Ἄδωνις is phonetically somewhat obscure. The suffixed *waw* is used exactly as in שנתו, "his years."

Byblus, [br]ought from[42] Egypt for Baal[ath-Gebal, his lady. May Baalath-Gebal prolong the days of Abibaal and his years] over Byblus!

IV. INSCRIPTION OF ELIBAAL ON STATUE OF OSORKON I (CIR. 915 B. C.).

1. ומשח . זפעל . אלבעל . מלך . גבל . ביח[מלך . מלך . גבל]
2. [לב]עלת . גבל . אדתו . תארך . בעלת[גבל]
3. [ימת . א]לבעל . ושנתו . על[43] [גבל]

(1) ⌜The statue⌝ which Elibaal, king of Byblus, son of Yeḥi[milk, king of Byblus,] made (2) [for Ba]alath-Gebal, his lady. May Baalath[-Gebal] prolong (3) [the days of E]libaal and his years over [Byblus]!

V. INSCRIPTION OF SHIPIṬ-BA'AL (END OF TENTH CENTURY B. C.).

1. קר . זבני . שפטבעל . מלך
2. גבל . בן אלבעל . מלך . גבל
3. ביחמלך . מלך . גבל . לבעלת
4. גבל . אדתו . תארך . בעלת גבל
5. ימת . שפטבעל . ושנתו . על . גבל

(1) The wall which Shipiṭ-Ba'al, king of (2) Byblus, son of Elibaal, king of Byblus, (3) son of Yeḥimilk, king of Byblus, built for Baalath-(4) Gebal, his lady. May Baalath-Gebal prolong (5) the days of Shipiṭ-Ba'al and his years over Byblus!

Va. INSCRIPTION OF 'ABDA' (ABOUT 900 B. C.).[44]

[ל] ועזבדא . בכלבי . הויז [צר]

[Belonging to] 'Abda', son of Kalbai,[45] the p[otter.]

VI. INSCRIPTION ON A BRONZE SPATULA (ABOUT 1000 B. C.).[46]

[ ]י . לעזירז בעל
תשעם . שלם [.] סג[47]
נשבת . אם נחל
תנחל . מגשתך[48]
עלך . ומגשת
לי[49]

(1) [ ]ay (says) to 'Izrî-Ba'al, (2) Dost thou seek (?) reconciliation? Withdraw, (3) let us

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[42] The preposition *b* was regularly used in the sense of "from" both in Ugaritic and in Phoenician. For Phoenician examples cf., e. g., ואל יעמסן במשכב ז עלת משכב שני, "and let it not be removed from this resting-place to another resting-place" (Eshmun'azar, lines 5 f., 7 f.) and בשרדן [...] נגרש האדם הא (ninth-century inscription from Nora in Sardinia; *BASOR*, No. 83, 19), "[That ma]n (shall) be banished [ ] from Sardinia." Heb. *min*, "from," is not attested in Phoenician any more than in Ugaritic; the parade example, מנם, in the Carthage Tariff (CIS 167: 6) is unquestionably the indefinite pronoun *mnm*, common in both Ugaritic and Phoenician; cf. H. L. Ginsberg, *Jour. Pal. Or. Soc.*, 1934, 250, 1935, 182. The few remaining instances (cf. Harris, *Grammar*, p. 120) may easily reflect assimilated or dissimilated forms of *b*, since they always precede two nasals and a labial. They may also reflect dialectal usage.

[43] Some scholars have read [גבל] עלי, but the sloping stroke after *lamedh* can only belong to *gimel*—certainly not to *yodh*; see Montet's photograph and drawing.

[44] See Dunand, *Byblia Grammata*, pp. 152 ff. My reading agrees with his, except that I prefix a *lamedh*, in accordance with the analogy of similar Palestinian vase inscriptions; cf. Maisler, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

[45] For ב instead of the full בן, "son of," cf. n. 39. The name *Klby* appears also in the Ugaritic texts; on it cf. *BASOR*, No. 82, 47, n. 26.

[46] For the literature on this spatula see my latest study, *BASOR*, No. 90, 35-37, Dunand, *Byblia Grammata*, pp. 155-7, and Torczyner, *Leshonenu*, XIV (1946), 158-165. My reading remains unchanged since my last previous study of the text in 1943 except for giving up the *n* in line 2, in accordance with the traces; there is insufficient space for any letter, so we must probably restore a stroke of separation.

[47] This cannot be *pe* with Dunand and Torczyner, since all hitherto published examples of tenth-century *pe* are rounded, most of them achieving an arc or even a semicircular appearance. The angular *pe* noted by Dunand in his table (*Byblia Grammata*, p. 160) is actually rounded; cf. his photograph, *ibid.*, Plate XVIa, line 1, and note that its stance is as different as possible from that of the supposed *pe* on the spatula. The supposed *pe* of the spatula is identical in form with the two examples of *gimel* in lines 4 and 5; moreover, this same form of *gimel* appears also in Ahiram (several times, a little more vertical in stance) and elsewhere (e. g., Shipiṭ-Ba'al, line 4, end (sloping slightly to the left instead of the right).

[48] Almost certainly plural; cf. my remarks, *ibid.*, p. 36, n. 9.

[49] Dunand supplies initial *'ayin*, reading לי[ע], but there is no trace of it either in his photograph or his hand-copy; moreover, the *lamedh* is so far (relatively speaking) to the right of the *lamedh* in the previous line as to leave no room for it. Torczyner reads it as though there were no question about the reading. In my opinion the context virtually excludes it.

settle (our case)![50] If thou dost truly (4) inherit (the property), thy offering(s) (5) shall be incumbent upon thee, but my offering(s) (6) shall belong to me.

The latest translation, following previous ones by Dunand, Obermann and the writer, has been proposed by Torczyner, who interprets the text as follows:[51]

(1) What is incumbent upon me (to pay) 'Azar-Ba'al (2) is 90 (shekels)—pay the silver[52] (3) (which) thou hast taken[53] (borrowed)! If thou dost truly (4) inherit (my portion also of the inheritance), thou shalt pay (as compensation the money which thou hast taken) from[54] (the yield up to the present of) thy flax (fields which thou hast inherited); (5) and from (the yield of the) flax (fields which belong to my inheritance, which thou dost acquire from me now, shalt thou pay the debt) (6) which is incumbent upon me![55] (In other words, this shall be the price of the inheritance which thou art now acquiring from me.)

These tenth-century inscriptions have two particularly significant aspects: (1) the light which they shed on the question of Ugaritic-Phoenician relationship; (2) the light which falls from them on the orthography of Hebrew.

As pointed out repeatedly above, there are many similarities in language between Phoenician and Ugaritic. Since Byblus is only about 100 miles in a straight line from Ugarit, and since only some four centuries separate the two groups of inscriptions, this is to be expected. If the opinion of most Ugaritic scholars, that Ugaritic is a Canaanite dialect, is right, the close relationship between them would be inevitable. Illustrations of verbal similarity have been given above, in notes 19, 25, 26, 31, 35, 36, 48, etc. Among the most striking parallels of grammatical significance are the new pronoun *h't* = Ugar. *hwt*, the use of *b* instead of *min* in the sense of "from" in both, the use of the *ifte'al* in both, the feminine gender of the words for "scepter" and "throne," against Hebrew usage; Ginsberg, Gordon and others have pointed out other parallels from later Phoenician inscriptions.[56] One which should be emphasized strongly is the fact that both employ *bl*, not *l'*, for negation.[57] Of course, the Canaanite of the Amarna letters from Byblus resembles Ugaritic still more closely, since they are contemporary instead of being separated by four centuries or more.

The spelling of the tenth-century inscriptions from Byblus is just as phonetic as that of the Canaanite stele of Kilamuwa, from the latter part of the ninth century, but it is more archaic in several respects. E. g., the final *yodh* of perfect *tertiae-infirmae* verbs is no longer written in the third person masculine singular in Kilamuwa, while the pronominal suffix of the third person singular is no longer *he*, but *yodh*, in Kilamuwa, just as in all later Phoenician inscriptions except apparently the royal Byblian inscriptions from the sixth-fourth century (Shipiṭ-Ba'al III,[58] Yeḥawmilk,[59] Bat-no'am[60]). It is not yet certain whether Harris is right in assuming a special Byblian dialect (*Grammar*, p. 51) or whether I was correct in treating these forms as archaizing (*JAOS* 60, 420). In any case some revision of current assumptions with regard to the suffixed pronominal elements is necessary. It is a mistake to suppose that the late Byblian inscriptions indicate the suffix of the first person singular by *yodh*, except in the case of לי and לפי, both of which can be explained as historical survivals from the beginning of the first millennium, in which the *yodh* still appears with

[50] This passage vividly illustrates Prov. 18: 18; the word *yašbît* is used there in exactly the same sense as I attribute to it here: "(the lot) settles (legal strife)." For details see my discussion, *loc. cit.*

[51] The following English paraphrase is based on Torczyner's vocalized text and Hebrew paraphrase on p. 165 of his paper. I know of no ancient legal documents where so much must be read into the text to make sense.

[52] Reading כ]סף; see n. 47.

[53] Deriving *nšbt* from the verb which appears as *nsb*, "take, bring," in Aramaic. This is possible only if the Syriac verb corresponds to a Hebrew **nśb* and to Arab. *nšb* (with Brockelmann, *Lex. Syr.*[2], *ad voc.*), but not if the Aramaic corresponds to Arab. *nsb*, as I strongly suspect.

[54] The improbability of treating the initial *mem* as the preposition will be seen from n. 42.

[55] Reading לי[ע]; cf. n. 49.

[56] Cf. Ginsberg, *Orientalia*, 1936, 179 f.; Gordon, *Ugaritic Grammar*, pp. 88 ff.

[57] Against Obermann, *JBL*, 1946, 233-248.

[58] See Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 31 f.

[59] See most recently, utilizing an additional fragment from Byblus, Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, V, 57-85.

[60] See most recently Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 31.

genitives, just as in Ugaritic. Yeḥaw-milk twice employs קל for *qôlî*, "my voice," where the noun is unquestionably singular. On the other hand, we find in these texts עצמי, "my bones," and רבתי, i. e., *rabbôtai*, or the like, not *rabbatî*, "my lady"; for the *pluralis majestatis* see above, n. 41. Moreover, לפני and עלי both follow the plural pattern, just as in Hebrew. All cases of affixed *waw* in the late Byblian inscriptions represent the third-person masculine singular suffix with plural nouns (e. g., ימו, שנתו) except possibly in the case of זרעו, where Hebrew parallels suggest a singular noun; however, this is not certain, and in view of cases like קל and עין for *'ênê*, I find it hard to believe that the form was pronounced *zar'ô*, as in Hebrew. In all these instances, except possibly the last, we have full agreement with Byblian practice in the tenth century, a fact which appears to weight the balance in favor of my theory of archaistic spelling.

In view of the completely phonetic consonantism of the tenth-century Byblian inscriptions, which was doubtless shared by the orthography of the Phoenicians in general at that time, it seems to me highly improbable that the Israelite orthography of the tenth century was any less phonetic, since the cultural influence of Phoenicia on Israel was demonstrably at its height then. In fact my studies of the Gezer Calendar [61] and the Oracles of Balaam,[62] confirmed subsequently by examination of such tenth-century texts as II Sam. 22 = Psalm 18, have fully confirmed this expectation. Naturally, owing to minor differences between Phoenician and Hebrew morphology, one cannot expect entire agreement in the consonantal spelling.

In conclusion I append a summary list of the kings of Byblus known to have flourished after cir. 1100 B. C.

Zakar-Ba'al	c. 1075 B. C.
. . . . .	
Aḥiram	c. 1000
Ittobaal (son of Aḥiram)	c. 975
Yeḥimilk	c. 950
Abiba..l (son of Yeḥimilk?)	c. 930
Elibaal (son of Yeḥimilk)	c. 920
Shipiṭ-Ba'al I (son of Elibaal)	c. 900
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
Shipiṭ-Ba'al II (Sipitti-bi'il)	c. 740
Ormilk I (Uru-milki)	701
Milk-asap (Milki-ašapa)	c. 670
. . . . .	
. . . . .	
Shipiṭ-Ba'al III [63]	c. 500 ?
. . . . .	
Ormilk II	
Yiḥar-Ba'al (son of Ormilk II) [64]	
Yeḥaw-milk (son of Yiḥar-Ba'al)	c. 450 ?
. . . . .	
El-pa'al [65]	c. 360
'Ozi-Ba'al	348
Addir-milk	c. 340
'Ayyin-El	333

[61] *BASOR*, No. 92, 16-26.
[62] *JBL*, 1944, 207-233.
[63] Cf. n. 58.
[64] See Dunand, *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*, V, 75.
[65] For these kings see most recently Dunand, *Fouilles de Byblos*, I, 407 ff.

THE BEGINNINGS OF CHINESE LEXICOGRAPHY IN EUROPE WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF MICHAEL BOYM (1612–1659)

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CHINESE-EUROPEAN lexicography begins in the first quarter of the seventeenth century. It is known that Father Matteo Ricci [1] compiled the first Chinese dictionary for the use of missionaries, but the manuscript of it is lost, and the book was never published. However, we may suppose that it was a small vocabulary for elementary use in the learning of the Chinese language by missionaries arriving in China. There are various copies of this

[1] Henri, Bernard, S. J., *Matteo Ricci's scientific contribution to China*, Peking, 1935.

dictionary augmented and modified during use, which are very different from their prototype.

The late Professor Paul Pelliot discovered in the Vatican Library [2] several unpublished manuscripts of Chinese-European dictionaries written by anonymous authors in the early period of Christian missions to China. It is possible that some of these were compiled by the first followers of Ricci. Athanasius Kircher (1602-1680) in his *China illustrata* [3] said that he was in possession of Ricci's manuscript of his Chinese dictionary. He expected to find a publisher for it.

It is also said that in the beginning of the seventeenth century Fathers J. Cobo, D. Collado, and G. Magalhaens [4] compiled Chinese dictionaries for the convenience of missionaries, but again we have no indication that their works were ever printed. I am inclined to believe that their products were rather collections of words and sentences for daily use in China by European Christian workers, rather than definite vocabularies. Father Nicolaus Trigault, S. J. (1577-1627) [5] compiled a small Chinese vocabulary for the learning of the Latin language by Chinese, and printed it in Pekin in 1626 under the title: *Hsi-ju-êrh-mu-tzû* 西儒耳目資; two copies of this work are in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.[6] H. Cordier places it at the beginning of the chapter "Lexicographie" in his laborious *Bibliotheca Sinica,* but this is probably for convenience of reference only. We do not know of any printed Chinese dictionary in Europe in the first half of the seventeenth century, notwithstanding fairly developed missionary activity in China and cultural exchange between the Far East and European countries.

The first two dictionaries, Chinese-Latin and Chinese-French, were compiled by Michael Boym, the Polish Jesuit, about 1650, and printed in Europe in 1667 and 1670. The few mentions of these vocabularies made by authors repeating one another and referring to uncertain sources, caused rather doubt than clarity. At first it seemed to me that all information concerning the uncertain dictionaries of M. Boym were based on the work about Boym written by T. Zakrzewski, director of Prince Ossoliński's Library in Lwów.[7] Zakrzewski states that Boym was the author of a *Lexicon sinicum,* printed in E. Fourmont's *Meditationes sinicae,* Paris, 1737. The notice is not exact, however, and I do not exclude the possibility that Fourmont was in possession of some material left by Boym. In the preface to the *Meditationes,* Fourmont refers to Boym's work, from which he took over the marking of intonations of Chinese words and Latin transcription.[8]

Father Joseph Brown, S. J. (1801-1879), the bibliographer of Jesuit writings in Poland, repeats the notice [9] contained in Zakrzewski's article. The Jesuit Carlos Sommervogel in *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus,* II. 72, quotes from Brown. The same information is in the *Orgelbrand Encyclopaedia,*[10] and in the *Great Illustrated Encyclopaedia,*[11] in the articles written by Prof. K. Estreicher. Also in Larousse's *Dictionnaire universel du XIX siècle* is mentioned that Boym compiled a Chinese-Polish vocabulary, which may be found with other books of this author in the Vienna Library.[12] My investigation into this question was not completely successful. I ascertained the existence of Boym's Chinese-Latin and Chinese-French vocabularies, but I did not find any trace of a Chinese-Polish dictionary. Larousse's information is doubtless erroneous.

As we have seen, historians and bibliographers have repeated merely indefinite information, but have recognized Boym's lexicographical contribution as an important event of his life as a scholar, and as early evidence of European sinology. None of them precisely described the character of the

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[2] T'oung-pao (1934), 137; also H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica,* V. 3906-3910.

[3] P. 118, — "exemplar apud me est, quod et libenter luci publicae darem si sumptus in eo faciendi suppeterent."

[4] *Bibliotheca Sinica,* III. 1638, also S. Couling's *Encyclopaedia Sinica,* 298-304.

[5] H. Havret, *La stèle chrétienne de Si-ngan-fu,* II. 57; and *Bibliotheca Sinica,* III. 1638.

[6] See H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica,* III. 1588,—Dictionnaire de la pronunciation chinoise et européen. Cat. Nr. N. F. Chinois 3087 and 3088; — ". . . c'est plutôt un syllabaire qu'un vocabulaire."

[7] *Czasopism naukowy księgozbioru publicznego imienia Ossolińskich,* Lwów (1818-1837), 8 vols. in 8°. See vol. III. 67-73.

[8] See below.

[9] *Biblioteka pisarzów asystencji polskiej Towarzystwa Jezusowego,* pp. 131-132. Poznań, 1862.

[10] *Encyklopedyja powszechna,* commonly called *Orgelbranda,* 28 vols. Warszawa, 1860, — see vol. IV. 212-213.

[11] *Wielka Encyklopedya powszechna ilustrowana,* 7 vols. 1890-1895, — see vol. II, s. v. Boym.

[12] Vol. II, p. 1176, Paris, 1867. "On a aussi de Boym un Dictionnaire Chinois-polonais. Ses œuvres sont excessivement rares, et la Bibliothèque de Vienne est probablement la seule qui les possède aujourd'hui."

vocabularies, their dates and places of publication, etc. Even Abel-Rémusat, who was the first to give exact information on Boym's endeavours to compile a dictionary, does not describe its exact form and character.[13] However, he does draw attention to Boym's plagiarists and imitators. Prof. Pelliot,[14] while not questioning the authorship of the Chinese-Latin dictionary, objects to the opinion of R. Chabrié,[15] that is, that Boym was the author of the Chinese-French dictionary inserted in the French version of *China illustrata* printed in 1670.[16] Pelliot asserts that the transcription of this dictionary is Portuguese ("la romanisation portugaise alors en cours dans les missions"), and as an example indicates the ça "mixtionner," 雜, tsa. Here the learned Pelliot has formed too hasty an opinion. The analysis of the whole work and specially of the "romanisation," which is typical and ingenious Boymian,[17] — inclines one to accept the opinion of R. Chabrié in his study, *Michel Boym, Jésuite Polonais et la fin des Ming en Chine*, p. 227. In this article I will try to clear up also that point.

It is my intention to approach the question of the beginnings of Chinese-European lexicography in the seventeenth century, taking into consideration the Nestorian inscription of Hsi-an-fu translated into Latin, and printed by A. Kircher in *China illustrata*, in Amsterdam, 1667. I will try also to clear up the inconsistent notices concerning Boym's Chinese dictionaries.

* * *

The rich scientific literature of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries made great use of the Christian inscription on the Nestorian monument of Hsi-an-fu, in order to throw light upon the problem of Christianity in China. We shall approach this inscription from the point of view of its influence upon the development of Chinese lexicography in Europe.

The discovery of a Christian monument in the suburb of Hsi-an-fu, Ch'ang-an, in 1652, awakened keen interest amongst the Jesuit missionaries then in China, as well as amongst the native Christians. Alvarez de Semedo (1585-1658),[18] Procurator of the Jesuit province of China and Japan, himself went to Ch'ang-an in 1628, examined and studied the monument on the spot, since it was outstanding evidence of early Christianity in China. It was also regarded as proof of the susceptibility of the Chirstian Truth in difficult Chinese cultural conditions, and as a stimulus to missionary work.

Emanuel Diaz, S. J. (Junior, 1574-1659),[19] in a letter from Macao to Rome dated 21st November 1627, informed Europe of the discovery of the monument and sent a Portuguese version of the Chinese text of the inscription, which was published in Rome in an Italian translation in 1631 under the title of *Dichiaratione di una pietra antica*. The Italian translation put into Latin was included in *Prodromus Coptus sive Aegyptiacus*,[20] 1636, by Athanasius Kircher, the famous polyhistor and mathematician. About that time a rubbing of the inscription in its natural size was brought to the Jesuits' Library in Rome. But it was Michael Boym [21] (1612-1659), Polish Jesuit, who first made a complete Latin translation directly from Chinese and published it in A. Kircher's collection *China illustrata*, Amsterdam, 1667.[22] This translation printed together with the Chinese reproduction of the inscription, and an ingenious phonetic transliteration of the characters, is of immense value for the study of the beginnings of Chinese lexicography in Europe in the seventeenth century.

Before we analyse this first attempt at a Chinese-Latin dictionary and its subsequent rearrangements by contemporary students and amateurs, let us turn our attention to the origin of the Chinese text used by M. Boym.

Father Boym did not see the original inscription on the stele of Hsi-an-fu.[23] The text which he appended to his work, and of which he gave a translation, was taken from a book by E. Diaz, published in Wu-Lin, Hangchow, in 1644 and entitled *T'ang Ching-chiao pei-sung cheng-ch'uan*, 唐景教

[13] *Mélanges Asiatiques*, II. 62-131, Paris, 1826, — see below.

[14] T'oung Pao 31. 136 (1934), "Michel Boym."

[15] *Michel Boym*, 226-227; Paris, 1933.

[16] See *China illustrata*, 324-367.

[17] See *China illustrata*, 10-13.

[18] In Chinese 魯德照繼元 Lu-te-chao Chi-yüan.

[19] Yang-ma-no Yen-hsi 陽瑪諾演西.

[20] Pp. 46-86.

[21] Born in Lwów, Poland; Pu-mi-ko Tche-yuen 卜彌格致遠 he is mostly known as Boym, or in Latin literature as Boymus.

[22] Pp. 7-29.

[23] See Havret, *La stèle chrètienne*.

碑頌正詮.[24] E. Diaz examined the inscription in the place of its discovery. He was acquainted with a Chinese description by Li Chih-tsao (1630) 李之藻, a high Imperial Court official, known under his Christian name of Leo. In May, 1625, Li wrote some notes on the Nestorian monument, *Tu Ching-chiao pei shu-hou,* 讀景教碑書後, in which he identifies Nestorianism with the Christianity taught by Matteo Ricci. This article was included in the work of Diaz. Boym in his letter tells us that he copied the text from an edition prepared by Chinese scholars.[25] We have good evidence that these scholars were E. Diaz and Li Chih-tsao. The copying of characters from the original rubbing, which he also obtained, and from the Chinese book, was made with the help of Chin Andreas, who also signed the description of the monument given in Boym's letter.[26] He signed as "Andreas Don Sin, Sina."

Michael Boym is known by his wide interest and investigation into sinology. During his stay in China he collected a vast amount of material for publication and also a Chinese-Latin dictionary. He viewed the translation of the Christian inscription of Hsi-an-fu as lexical material and shaped it into what we might term a vocabulary. In the first part of his work he gave a short introduction on Chinese characters, their pronunciation and tones. Most interesting and valuable is the system he invented for marking the tones of Chinese pronunciation. He adopted a marking of the principal five tones: ˆ - ˘ ´ `, which in his opinion corresponded to the five musical notes: Ut, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol; — the remaining two marks: o ɔ "indicated plain voice" (planam vocem indicant), e. g.[27]

Yâ, dens
Yā, mutus
Yà, excellens
Yá, stupor
Yă, anser.

The second part of Boym's work gives the pronunciation of all the characters numbered separately in each column. There are altogether 29 columns and 1789 characters. His copy of the inscription was attached and the characters were numbered. In the Latin translation the words were given corresponding numbers. In toto this formed an unusual kind of vocabulary, justified partly by the difficulties of printing Chinese characters at that time in Europe.

Here is the first column to illustrate Boym's idea;

a) Chinese text from the zincographic copy of the inscription:[28]

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
粵	若	常	然	眞	寂	先	光	而	无
11	12	13	14		15	16	17	18	19
元	宵	然	靈	虛	後	後	而	妙	有
20	21	22	23	24		25	26		27
樞	玄	樞	而	造	化	妙	衆	聖	以
28	29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37
元	尊	者	其	唯	我	三	一	妙	身
38	39	40	41	42				43	44
无	元	眞	主	阿	羅	訶	歟	判	十
	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
守	以	定	四	方	鼓	元	風	而	生

b) transliteration:[29]

1 yĕ 2 giû 3 chaṁ 4 geñ 5 chiñ 6 cyĕ 7 syeñ 8 syeñ 9 lĥ 10 uû 11 yueñ 12 siaō 13 geñ 14 liṁ, hiū 15 heú 16 heú 17 lĥ 18 miaó 19 yeù 20 sūm̄ 21 hiueñ 22 kiŭ 23 lĥ 24 saó, hoá 25 miaó 26 chum̄, xiń 27 ỳ 28 yueñ 29 suń 30 chè 31 kĭ 32 gueý 33 rigò 34 sañ 35 yé 36 miaó 37 xiṁ 38 uû 39 yueñ 40 chiñ 41 chù 42 ō, lô, ō, yù 43 poń 44 xĕ, çú 45 ỳ 46 tyń 47 sú 48 faṁ 49 kù 51 fum̄ 52 lĥ 53 sem̄.

c) Latin translation:[30]

1 2 3 4 5 6
Principium fuit semper idem, verum, quietum,
7 8 9 10 11 12 13
primorum primum, et sine origine, necessario idem,
14 15 16
intelligens et spirituale postremorum postremum
17 18 19 20 21
et excellentissimum existens, ordinavit coelorum
22 23 24 25 26
polos, et fecit ex nihilo excellentissime; perfecti
27 28 29 30 31
omnium Sanctorum, pro origine adorant, quem ille

[24] 2nd ed. 1875, Zi-ka-wei, Shanghai.
[25] Op. cit., p. 10.
[26] P. 10: "jam a Sinicis dostoribus summae tum authoritatis tum fidei viris impressa."
[27] Op. cit., p. 12.
[28] See *China illustrata,* table facing last page.
[29] P. 13.
[30] P. 22.

32 33 34 35 36
solus personarum trium unica perfectissima sub-
37 38 39 40 41
stantia non habens principium, veritas Dominus
42 43 44 45 46 47 48
holooy statuit Crucem per pacificare quatuor partes
49 50 51 52 53
Mundi, commovit originis spiritum et produxit.[31]

However, in the French edition of the *China illustrata*, 1670, Kircher included Boym's vocabulary now compiled in conventional form, without characters, with only the French equivalents.[32] It was the first phonetic Chinese-French dictionary prepared by Boym during his linguistic studies in China, and with the same intention, viz. to supply European students with a vast amount of lexicographical help and for practical use.

The transcription of the French version of *China illustrata* is the same as in the Latin edition. In the "romanisation" there is no difference at all. The same ça, çan, çao, çay, çu, çun, çay, etc., we find in both editions. It was a general way accepted at that time (17th cent.) to transcribe the Chinese sounds beginning with "ts" as "ça," and it seems that Prof. Pelliot's opinion was based on the investigation of the French version of *China illustrata* without consulting the Latin edition.

According to Stephanus (Etienne) Fourmont[33] that "dictionnaire" was Boym's translation of the Shuo-wen dictionary. I think that Boym added a certain number of new words (though perhaps not from Shuo-wen), to the alphabetically arranged words of the inscription.

The headings of the word groups are not uniform throughout:

Ca, Cĕ, Ceù, Chĭ, Ci, Co, Cū, Fa, Fe, Fi, Fŏ, Fû, Gĕ, Go, Hā, He, Hiú, Ha, Hû, Ho, I, J, Ke, La, Me, Na, Pa, Q, S, Ta, V, X.

This inconsistency in the alphabetical order was partly due to the small number of words. The whole group Go[34] is very characteristic:

Goéi – dignités
goēi – avoir le milieu, respect, egard, authorité, gravité
ngān goéi – consoler, resjouir
p'î goéi – la poitrine, l'estomach
kim goéi – la trame pour ourdir.

The Chinese-French dictionary was the outcome of lexical studies on the Christian Inscription of Hsi-an-fu. Its appearance in this particular form, as printed in *China illustrata*, attracted other scholars in the second part of the seventeenth century, especially Ch. Mentzel and A. Müller.

Christianus Mentzel (1622-1701), also known as Mentzelius, was an amateur in Chinese culture and the Chinese language. He was physician to the Elector of Brandenburg; and, desirous of showing his ability as curator of the Oriental Department of the Berlin Library, he produced a Chinese dictionary. The only material he used was a Latin translation of the inscription on the Nestorian monument. He selected 288 words which he put into alphabetical order together with their corresponding Chinese characters and transliteration. Mentzel had a good idea of how a dictionary should be compiled, but he was very little acquainted with the Chinese language.

Mentzel's compilation was entitled: *Sylloge minutiarum lexici latino-sinico-characteristici, observatione sedula ex auctoribus et lexicis chinensium characteristicis eruta*, and consisted of two parts:

I. "Ad sylvulam lexici latino-sinico-characteristici, compendiosa semita," — an introduction on Chinese writing (10 pages).

II. "Sylvula lexici latino-sinico-characteristici," the vocabulary itself (24 pages).

The whole work comprised 34 pages octavo. It is a very primitive vocabulary,[35] full of errors. Mentzel not only repeated Boym's mistakes and inaccuracies, but in addition obscured the whole work by his ignorance and by his erroneous copy-

[31] Compare J. Legge's translation in *The Nestorian monument*, p. 3, London, 1888.

"It is acknowledged that there was One, unchangeable, true, and still, the First and simplicity; the Last and mysteriously existing; Who, with His hands operating in the mysterious /abyss of space/, proceeded to create, and by His spirit to give existence to all the Holy ones, Himself the great adorable; — was not this our Eloah, with His marvellous being, Three-in-One, the unoriginated True Lord?

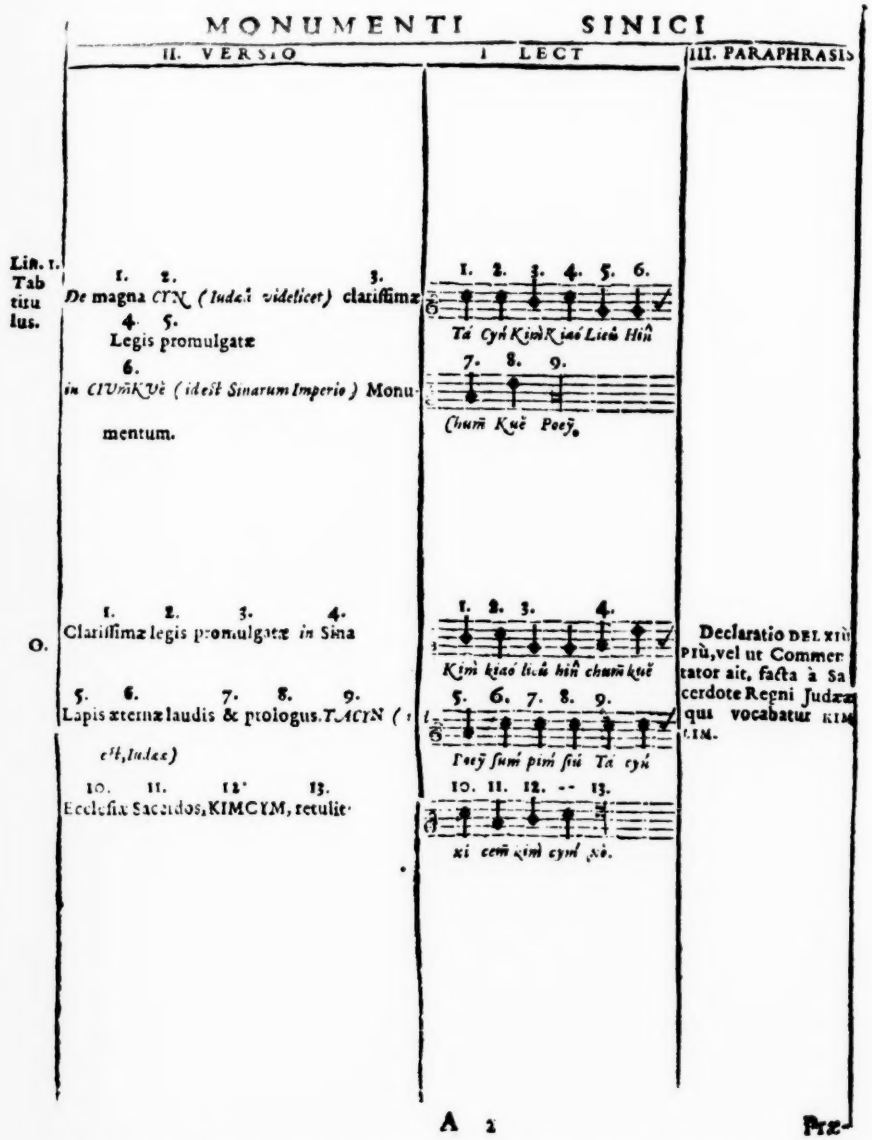
"Having determined the four cardinal points in space as by the extremities of the character for ten (十), He called into action the primordial wind, and produced ....." (Legge's translation is, it will be noticed, not without mistakes).

[32] *La Chine illustrée*, pp. 324-367. *Dictionnaire Chinois et Français.*

[33] "Meditationes Sinicae," p. xv, Paris, 1737.

[34] P. 341.

[35] See illustration from the copy in the British Museum.


MONUMENTI SINICI
II. VERSIO
I LECT
III. PARAPHRASIS
Lin. t. Tab titulus.
1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6.
De magna CTN (Judæi videlicet) clariſſimæ Legis promulgatæ
7. 8. 9.
in CIUmKVè (ideſt Sinarum Imperio) Monumentum.
Tá Cyń Kiṁ Kiaó Liĉu Hiń
Chuṁ Kuè Poeў.
1. 2. 3. 4.
Clariſſimæ legis promulgatæ in Sina
5. 6. 7. 8. 9.
Lapis æternæ laudis & prologus. TACYN (
eſt, Judæa)
10. 11. 12. 13.
Eccleſiæ Sacerdos, KIMCYM, retulit
Kiṁ kiaó liĉu hiń chuṁ kuè
Poeў ſum pim ſiú Tá cyń
xi ceṁ ҳiṁ cyṁ ҳè.
Declaratio DEL XIÙ PRÙ, vel ut Commentator ait, facta à Sacerdote Regni Judææ qui vocabatur KIM CIM.
A 2
Præ-

A page from A. Müller's edition of Boym's translation of the Hsi-an-fu inscription with Boym's music notation.

Sylvula Lexici Latino-Sinico-Characteriſtici.

A ab

A, ab, abſque — — — yú 於

Abyſſus, v. profundus

Abluere — — — tŭ 滌

Abolere — — — fá 撥

Abſcondere — — — yŭ 隱

Abſolvere — — — sò 素

Accerſere — — — yaò 邀

Actio, agere — — yuṁ 用

Ad, in — — — — y' 以

Adeptus, adipiſcor, v. conſequi

Adjuvare — — — çú 資

Adjutorium — — — pí 庇

Admonere — — — Haó 告

Adorare — — — ſén 尊

Ad æ

Adunare, diſponere — cy'm 清

Ægrotare — — — — pim 病

Æqualis — — — — kień 均

Æquus, v. rectus

Affectus, paſſio — — cyṁ 情

Afferre, v. portare

Afflictus — — — muén 悶

Albus — — — — — pĕ 白

Algeo, v. frigeo

Alere, v. nutrire

Aliquis, v. quidam hoĕ 或

Aliquando, v. interdum

Aliquoties, v. tunc

Alius pro (unus) — — teṁ 專

yĕ 一

Altare — — — ta'm 壇

Alter, v. ſecundus

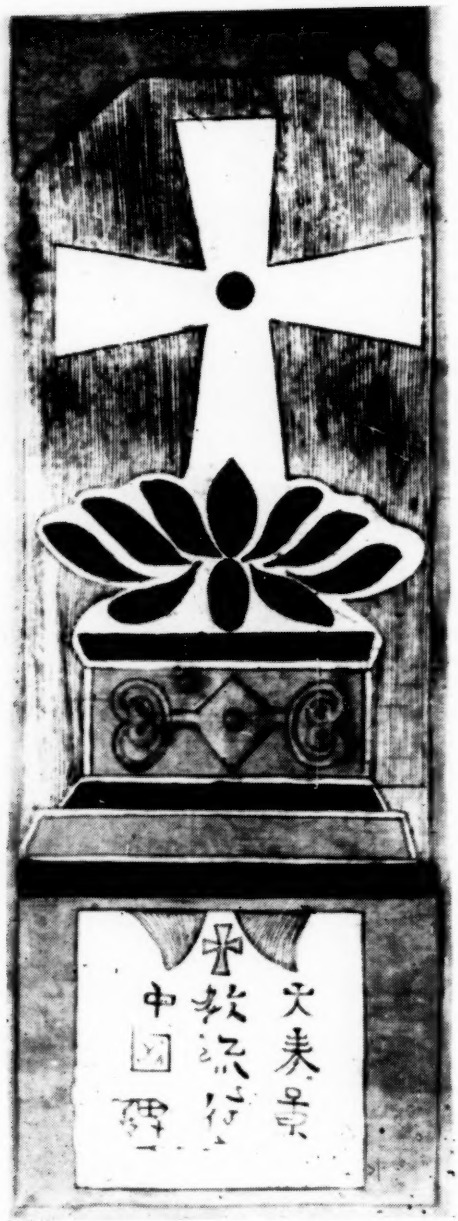
Altus — — — — kiĕ 柩

Amor — — — — ngeṁ 思

Amplus — — — — quò 閎

An-

The first page from Ch. Mentzel's edition of Boym's Latin-Chinese dictionary.



The Cross of Hsi-an-fu inscription from Boym's "Flora Sinensis."

ing of characters. The work as a whole is of no value.

Nevertheless Mentzel awakened considerable interest in himself among his contemporaries, and he was urged to compile a more comprehensive vocabulary. A bulky manuscript entitled *Clavis sinica*,[36] which is ascribed to Mentzel is in the Berlin State Library. It is nothing more than material collected for a new work on the Chinese language, probably purchased by the Library from Doctor Cleyer of the Dutch East India Company. There is a strong evidence that this material was in actual fact part of that collected by Michael Boym and deposited for safekeeping with Cleyer in 1651, prior to his taking up his appointed duties as the Ming ambassador to Europe. This material was to have been forwarded to Boym, but Cleyer sold it to the Berlin Library.

In *Museum Sinicum*[37] Theophilus Bayer says he saw in Berlin the second edition of Mentzel's dictionary which had been printed in Peking[38] on red paper and contained nicely drawn characters. In my opinion Bayer may have confused Mentzel's useless production with some other dictionary, probably that printed by missionaries in Peking.

Another amateur in Chinese culture who was also interested in this Chinese inscription was Andreas Müller (1630-1694), by profession a Protestant pastor in Pomerania, and an Oriental savant. In consequence of his sinological studies he issued small treatises on Chinese history. He was also at one time attached to the Oriental Department of the Berlin Library, and enjoyed the favour of the Brandenburg Elector. Müller's knowledge of Chinese was next to nil,[39] but he tried to show off what little he had. A product of this was his *Monumenti Sinici*. . . .

In this work Müller applied Boym's unsuccessful attempt to transcribe the intonation of Chinese words by musical notes to the translation of the Hsi-an-fu monument and at the same time tried to rectify Boym's omissions. However, like Mentzel, he added new errors. Obviously Müller's opusculum was of no practical value. Today it is a rare bibliographical curiosity.

Müller announced his intention to compile a Chinese vocabulary, *Clavis Sinica*. Such a work was entirely beyond his ability. After his death no trace could be found of any material connected with the compilation of *Clavis Sinica*.

In connection with the Chinese-French dictionary of 1670, we must remember that many efforts were made by missionaries to compile a Chinese dictionary as an essential instrument for their studies and for their practical use. We only know that such works were in preparation and remained in manuscript form.[40] Today no printed work survives that can testify to the existence of a Chinese-European vocabulary printed in Europe at that time, except that of Father Michael Boym.

Boym was in fact a prominent sinologue in the first period of Far Eastern studies in Europe, and had great influence on lexicographers in the eighteenth century. According to Etienne Fourmont,[41] his translation of the Hsi-an-fu inscription was the beginning of lexical studies: "Quin, producto tanto Christianae religionis monumento, pietati inservierit plurimum, quin linguae mandarinicae adhuc ferme ignotae cognitionem fuerit doctis saltem aliquam impertitus, id enimvero ne quis unquam revocet in dubium."

[36] See H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, III. 1634-1635.
[37] I. 61.
[38] See also Prof. P. Pelliot's "Boym," T'oung Pao, 1934.
[39] See Bayer, op. cit., I. 33-42.
[40] See S. Couling's *Encycopaedia Sinica*, 298-304; also Backer-Sommervogel, *Bibliographie*. . . .
[41] *Meditationes Sinicae*, p. xv.

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INTRODUCTION

THIS INVESTIGATION began simply as a translation of the biography of Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán[a] in the Táng histories in order to furnish some background material for reading the prose works of that author. Any reader of Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán's prose, or for that matter his poetry, is immediately aware that the author was at one time banished. In his preface to the Poems of the Stupid Brook,[1b] he mentions his disgrace, and settings for most of his fables and travel notes are the prefectures of *Yŭng* and *Lyŏu*[2o] but the facts surrounding his banishment are obscure even in his biography.

Almost any section of the Táng histories gives the reader a feeling of unreality equal to that of the croquet game with the Red Queen. The number and frequency of the "Off with their heads!" orders make exiles and "bestowed deaths"[3d] commonplace. Their very repetition and tediousness causes the reader to forget that involved in each one was a human life which was probably valued highly by the owner if not by the imperial throne.

Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán's famous friend and contemporary, Hán Yù,[e] was also banished, but it is evident to even the most sanguine that Hán Yù's reference to the reputed knuckle-bone of Gautama as a "filthy remnant" was a very dangerous statement to put in a memorial[4f] to the emperor Syàn-dzūng[g] who was an adherent to Buddhism. It becomes clear immediately that his banishment hinged more on this memorial than on any other thing. We later find that he was not only recalled, used, and honored by the court, but also was canonized as Wén-gūng.[h]

In the case of Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán, however, it appears that he never returned from exile, and died in obscurity. It is obvious that there must have been a reason for the greater severity of Dzūng-ywán's banishment, and the reason is hinted at in his biography by Oū-yáng Syōu[5i] which states:

"Wáng Shú-wén and Wéi Jŕ-yí[j] liked him and respected his abilities. When they had control of the government they took him into the inner circle and made him privy to their plans.... Suddenly, Wáng Shú-wén was ruined and Dzūng-ywán was banished. . . ."

An investigation of the little-known Wáng Shú-wén and Wéi Jŕ-yí produces some surprising results. We find that he and his little group at one time had gotten a tremendous hold on the workings of the court and were on the verge of a coup d'état when they were crushed. The actual threat of this group was almost as great as the Ān Lŭ-shān rebellion which is very well known to us, but, as is always the case in history, success is the criterion, and the machinations of Wáng Shú-wén have been little noted in histories of China.

In the 85th *lyè-jwàn* of the Táng-Shū[6] we read that during the reign of Dé-dzūng[7k] a man named:

"Wáng Shú-wén of *Shān-yīn* in *Ywè-jōu*[8l] was given duties in the palace of the heir apparent because of his abilities at chess . . . and (because) of his love for discussing the principles of government.

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[1] This preface is often selected in anthologies of Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán's prose. vid. Margoulies, *Le Gou-Wen Chinoise* p. 227 et seq.

[2] Respectively, to the northwest of present day Gwăngsī Nán-dán-*syàn*, and to the southeast of Lyŏu-chéng-*syàn* in the same province.

[3] The recipient of a "bestowed death" order was allowed by the emperor to commit suicide.

[4] In memorializing the emperor on allowing the bone of Buddha to enter the palace, Hán Yù says: "(If Buddha were alive) . . . you would not let him arouse the people (over his religion). How much more improper is it now that he has been long dead to allow his hollow, rotten bone, ill-omened and filthy remnant, to enter the palace!"

[5] The author of the *New Tang History*. I have used this biography because it contains more information than the *Old Tang History*, and because there is an error in the biography in the latter. (vid. Kāi-Míng 3498. 4) which is corrected in the *New Tang History*.

[6] In the case of Shú-wén's biography, the case is reversed. The *Old Tang History* seems not as obscure as the biography written by Oū Yáng-syōu.

[7] Reigned about 25 years (780 A. D. to 804-5 A. D.).

[8] Probably near modern Shānsī Yīng Mén Daù (a).

"One day, when the heir apparent and his attendants were discussing the corruptions of the palace, the heir said: 'When I see the emperor I shall certainly tell him of these (corruptions).' The attendants, with the exception of Shú-wén all applauded this statement. Shú-wén alone remained silent. When the sitting was over the heir said: 'During the discussion concerning the corruptions of the palace, you alone said nothing. Why?'

"'In the heir apparent's serving of the emperor,' said Shú-wén, 'aside from your seeing to his food, and bidding him health, there should be no other thing (he should be bothered with). The emperor has been on the throne for a long time, if . . . I were to go to him . . . and say that the palace (officials) are chosen and rejected by whim, then how could I explain my own presence?'"

The heir apparent was evidently impressed by this statement for we read that Shú-wén was greatly respected, and in a little while all the affairs of the (heir apparent's) palace were run according to his dictates:

"He would constantly say to the heir that so-and-so would be good material, and such-and-such would make a good general, so that it would be well to use them when the time was ripe."

This was evidently the foothold Shú-wén needed, and he began to build toward the day when the heir would take the throne. Shortly after this we read that he "secretly began to gather about him all the famous scholars of the generation, and all those who hoped by a stroke of good fortune to gain quick advancement."

It was natural that a brilliant and ambitious young man such as Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán should have gravitated to this group. Here was promise of advancement and here was a group of fellow writers and literati with whom he could work. Whether or not he was aware of the risks that group was running, or of the great schemes Shú-wén had in mind, we can only conjecture, but we do know that he was a powerful figure in the clique. In the biography of Lyŏu Yŭ-sí [9m] we find the statement: "He (Shú-wén) took Lyóu and Lyŏu into the secrets of the inner palace." And again in the same biography: "All promoting and degrading was done on the basis of whether (one) was in favor with the men (of Shú-wén's clique). . . . No one dared mention their names (the members of the group), (but) they were called the 'Èr-Wáng-Lyóu-Lyŏu' clique." [n]

The two Wángs are Wáng Pēi [o] and Wáng Shú-wén; Lyóu is Lyóu Yŭ-sí, and Lyŏu is Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán. It was probably common knowledge that Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán was a member of the powerful "inner circle."

Shú-wén kept increasing his influence by devious and secret means. When the heir apparent took the throne he was very ill. The malady is variously stated by the histories as being some kind of a cold, or even more vaguely a type of sleeping sickness, but all are agreed that the heir apparent, when he ascended the throne, lost his power of speech. This was a stroke of good luck for Shú-wén. The heir apparent with whom he had been so intimate was now emperor, and was almost helpless. The history states that he ruled through "a screen" (i. e. through a set of intermediaries). All Shú-wén had to do was to gain the ears of those intermediaries, and he controlled the emperor.

"The eunuch Lĭ Jūng-yén [p] and the beauty Nyóu Jāu-rúng [q] served him (the emperor) right and left. Officials sent their arguments up to him, and from behind his "curtain" he granted their memorials. Wáng Pēi often informed the emperor (that he should) take notice of Shú-wén."

From this we see that at least one of the members of the "screen" was partial to Shú-wén. Presumably Wáng Pēi was instrumental in having Shú-wén made a scholar of the Hàn-lín.[10] Shú-wén gradually attained higher positions [11] in the Hàn-lín until he finally reached an office, the duties of which included access to the inner court. At this point his increase in power was noted by some of the palace officials and they had the privilege of gaining the inner court abolished as one of the functions of Shú-wén's post. Shú-wén was

[9] In the *Old Tang History*. Lyóu Yŭ-sí; poet, official and very close friend of Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán, is responsible for first collecting and publishing the writings of Dzūng-ywán.

[10] This is probably literally true, because the first line of Shú-wén's biography in the *Old Tang History* states that he had only "a coarse (i. e. spotty) knowledge of literature." Oū-yáng Syōu makes it "*rather* well read," so by inference it would seem that his position in that learned academy was due merely to influence.

[11] As evidence of the influence and effect he wielded in the Hàn-lín, the history states that though Dù Yòu (b), the author of the great *Tūng-jĭ* (c) was nominally Shú-wén's superior, actually he owed his success to Shú-wén. In what way this is meant I cannot discover.

very distressed when this happened and complained (probably to Wáng Pēi) that:

"I have to come (to the inner palace) from time to time in order to discuss the affairs of state. If I don't have this function, I'll have no reason for gaining access to the inner palace."

Wáng Pēi pleaded to the emperor for him, and gained him permission to enter the palace once in every three to five days.

At the time he began his rise in the Hàn-lín, Shú-wén became intimate with the Secretary to the Ministry of Personnel,[12r] Wéi Jŕ-yí, and craftily urged that Wéi Jŗ-yí should be made a chief minister.[13] Shú-wén seldom tried himself to advance in office, but wisely pushed those who were really talented and were under his influence.

"(So that) Shú-wén, by way of Wáng Pēi, and Wáng Pēi, by way of Lĭ Jūng-yén, and he, by way of Nyóu Jāu-rúng, all working together, gradually linked up and would notify the Hàn-lín, where Shú-wén would decide what could or could not be done. (Shú-wén would then) notify Wéi Jŗ-yí (who was by this time a chief minister) who in turn would memorialize (the throne on the matter)."

By this time the clique was very powerful indeed, and at the samé time growing more and more arrogant.

"In chorus with Hán Tài[s] Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán, Lyóu Yŭ-sí, Chén Jyàn,[t] Líng Jwĕn,[u] and Hán Hwá,[v] they would talk of Gwán, Gé, Yí and Jōu.[14] The whole clique was belligerent, and they would say that the empire had no (able) men in it (save themselves)."

Moreover, the history tells us that:

"At the times when taxes[15] (were collected), Shú-wén would say that money and grain were the bases of the empire, and that if one controlled them one could increase or decrease the military levy and control the merchants and officials."

The time was now ripe for the first attempt at a military coup d'état. In his ranks was a henchman, Hán Tài, whom Shú-wén was evidently grooming for a high military post. Shú-wén had him assigned as an assistant to a general who had been a favorite of the emperor Dé-dzūng, Făn Sī-cháu.[16w] Făn Sī-cháu was in charge of the border garrisons[17x] in *Fèng-tyān*[18] and was not averse to Shú-wén's schemes. The plan was to unite all the *fán-jèn* in the north and west under the banner of Shú-wén, at which time they were presumably to descend upon the capitol and Cháng-ān.

The history says:

"The (officials) were still unaware of what was happening. Only when the various generals of the *fán-jèn* informed the *Jūng-wèi*[19] that they were putting themselves under the command of Făn Sī-cháu, and were no longer obeying the *Jūng-wèi*, did the (officials) awaken to the fact that Shú-wén had usurped the military power!"

The *Jūng-wèi* somehow prevented the *fán-jèn* from debouching on Cháng-ān, and when Făn Sī-cháu and Hán Tài reached the rendezvous in *Fèng-tyān* the generals and their troops were not to be found.

With the failure of this coup began the downfall of Shú-wén and his group. Shwèn-dzūng[y] had long been ill, and it must have been evident that he couldn't reign for long because the officials who were not connected with Shú-wén urged Shwèn-dzūng to pick a successor. Shú-wén was not ready for a successor to be chosen, but when Shwèn Dzūng had reigned for a mere eight months he was persuaded by the anti-Shú-wén officials to pick the Gwăng-lúng Wáng[z] as his successor, and retired. This, the history says, made everyone

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[12] Vid. Des Rotours, *Traité des Examens* 6-7.

[13] Ibid. p. 3.

[14] Gwān — Gwăn Yí-wú (Gwăn Jùng) (d) a famous minister of state. Died circ. 645. B. C.
Gé — Jū-gé Lyàng (e), the minister of Shŭ and one of the famous trio of the *Sān Gwó Jŕ*. Died circ. 223. A. D.
Yí — Yí Yĭn (f) the first prime minister of the Shāng dynasty.
Jōu — Jōu Gūng (g) the model of Confucius. Died circ. 1105 B. C.
In other words, this bumptious clique was comparing itself with the greatest leaders in Chinese history.

[15] This character (h) could as easily mean "to versify," but the sentence doesn't make as good sense read that way.

[16] K. M. p. 3482. 1.

[17] The *fán-jèn* were a great source of danger during the Táng. They were more or less autonymous groups stationed around the borders of the empire, far from the control of the capitol officials. Ān Lŭ-shān used the same strategy in staging his rebellion.

[18] An old name for modern Lyáuníng province, but probably extending over a greater area than does the present Lyáuníng.

[19] There seem to be at least 4 classes of *Jūng-wèi* (vid. *Tsĕ-Yuán*) none of which corresponds well to the office mentioned here. This *Jūng-wèi* seems to be some type of Commisar of the border troops.

happpy but Shú-wén, because it was well known that the Gwăng-lúng Wáng would be against Shú-wén.

As was expected, Syàn-dzūng (the Gwăng-lúng Wáng), immediately he ascended the throne, exiled Shú-wén and his entire faction. Orders were given that these men were never to return. The next year Shú-wén was executed.

This, then, is the background for the biography of Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán. The preceding explains why Dzūng-ywán's exile was unlike that of Hán Yù, and it is evident that exile for treachery is another and more serious matter than the temporary personal spite of the emperor.

BIOGRAPHY OF LYOU DZUNG-YWAN

Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán, whose *dž* was Dž-hòu, was by ancestry probably a man of Hé-dūng.[1a] His paternal great-grandfather, (Lyŏu) Shĭ[b] was Chief of the Imperial Secretariat[2c] (under Gāu-dzūng circ. 639). He offended the empress Wŭ and died[3] during the reign of Gāu-dzūng. His (Dzūng-ywán's) father, (Lyŏu) Jèn[d] at the end of the *Tyān-bău* period (742-756) became involved in the confusion (then going on).[4] He hid his (Lyŏu Jèn's) mother at Wáng-wū Shān[5e] and many times had to fare forth to make a living (for his family). Later, he moved to Wú.[6f] When Syāu-dzūng had put down the rebels (557) (Lyŏu) Jèn sent a letter (to the throne) stating the facts (? of his innocence in the rebellion), and was later promoted to the position of Colonel in a regiment of Border Guards[7] as assistant to Gwō Dž-yí[8g] at Sū Fāng-fŭ.[9h] He was promoted three times to (finally) become an Imperial Censor in the palace.[10] Because he offended Dòu Tsān[11i] in the course of his duties, he was banished to be the prefect of Kwēi-jōu.[12j] He returned and finally became a censor in the Department of General Affairs.[13]

Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán when young was extremely spirited and astute. His writings were lofty and delicate (in style). His contemporaries (considered) Lyŏu outstanding.

He passed his *jìn-shĭ*[14] and the examinations of the Imperial Secretariat.[15] The position of Secretary Collator of Books[16] was conferred on him and he was (later) transferred to the post of the *Wèi* of Lán-tyán.[17] In the ninth year of *Jèn-ywán* (794) he became an "inner worker" for the Inspector of the Imperial Censorate.[18]

Wáng Shú-wén and Wéi Jĭ-yí[19] liked him and respected his talent. When they had control of the government they took him into the inner circle and made him privy to their plans. He was (then)

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[1] Hé-dūng, a section of what is present day Shansi. Called Hé-dūng because it lies to the east of the Yellow River which flows almost due north in Shānsī. The Chinese always note a family's place or origin. Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán was not born in this section, but his ancestors came from here.

[2] Des Rotours, *Traité des Examens* 9.

[3] Lyŏu Shĭ's biography in the Táng Shū states that he had a niece, the daughter of his sister and Wáng Rén-shĭ[a] whom he gave to Gāu-dzūng as a concubine. Subsequently, Gāu-dzūng, probably under the influence of the notorious Wŭ Hòu[b] discarded Shĭ's niece, and Shĭ himself was banished to Aì-jōu[c] (on the border of present day Annam). Later, Wŭ Hòu dispatched an asassin to kill Lyŏu Shĭ and confiscate his property. Shĭ's official rank was restored to him posthumously around 705.

[4] This was the rebellion of Ān Lŭ-shān (755-757).

[5] Wáng-wū-shān, in present day Shānsī province. Dzūng-ywán's father probably chose this place to take refuge because he had friends and relations there. Lyŏu Héng,[d] the uncle of Lyŏu Shĭ had at one time been the *Syàn Jăng* of Wáng-wū-syàn (K. M. 3334. 3). Wáng-wū-shān is so called because of three mountains which were shaped like a house.

[6] Wú, a district which is roughly equivalent to the present day provinces of Jyāngsī and Jèjyāng.

[7] Des Rotours, 281 ff.[e]

[8] Gwō Dž-yí, a famous general of Táng times. The hero of the Ān Lŭ-shān rebellion and of many border incidents.

[9] Sū Fāng fū, a name given to the Gānsū border section, present day Líng-wū-*syàn* in Gānsū.

[10] Des Rotours, 257, 64, 77.[f]

[11] Dòu Tsān, a very powerful minister under Dé-dzūng. He became assistant Chief of the Imperial Censorate. It is said that he was grave, stern and just, but his power became too great in the court and his enemies too many. He was banished, ironically enough, first to Lyŏu-jōu where Lyŏu Dzūng-ywán himself was banished some years later, and then to Hwān-jōu[g] where he was "bestowed death."

[12] Kuéi-jōu, present day Sžchwān Fèng-jyé-*syàn*.

[13] Des Rotours 277.[h]

[14] Ibid. 27.

[15] Ibid. 220-1.[i]

[16] *Syàu-shū-láng*,[j] ibid. 294 and *Tsr-ywán*.

[17] *Wèi*,[k] the head of personnel in a sub-prefecture. Des Rotours 265, 274 n. 3. Lán-tyán[l]; there is still a Lán-tyán-*syàn* in Shānsī.

[18] Des Rotours 183[m]; plus *lĭ-síng* which would probably indicate that he was stationed in the palace.

[19] Vid. Glossary of Chinese Terms, j.

promoted to the post of Auxiliary Secretary of the Ministry of Rites[20] and was desirous of great advancement.

Suddenly, Wáng Shú-wén was ruined (805 8th month) and Lyŏu was exiled (805 11th month) to be prefect of Shàu-jōu.[21k] He'd not gotten half way (to Shàu-jōu) when he was (further) exiled to Yŭng-jōu as assistant prefect. Being both in disgrace, and also (situated) in a wild and pestilential land, he abandoned himself to the mountains and the marshes.[22] His pent-up emotions he made into metaphor and wrote them down in a score or so chapters patterned after the *Lí-sāu*.[23l] Those who read (this work) all (felt) its pathos and polish. He wrote a letter to Syāu Myăn[24m] which told of his feelings, and another to the District Magistrate of Cháng-ān, Syŭ Mèng-rúng[25n] (asking Mèng-rúng to intercede for him but, all (at court) feared his great ability, and that with the end of his punishment he would again advance (in importance). Therefore there was none who would exert himself (in Lyŏu's behalf).

Dzūng-ywán was shaken for a long time (by this). His writings became deeper in thought. At one time he wrote a single volume entitled *Jèn-Fŭ*.[26o] Dzūng-ywán was not recalled to the palace and was grieved and wounded in spirit and vexed with himself (for what he had done). To admonish himself he wrote a piece of blank verse called *Chéng-Jyòu*.[27p]

In the tenth year of *Ywán-hé* (816) he was transferred to Lyŏu-jōu to become prefect. At this time Lyóu Yŭ-sí[28] was (? prefect) of Bwò-jōu[29q] and Dzūng-ywán said:

"Bwò-jōu is no place for a man to live, and Yŭ-sí's family is (still) in his ancestral home. I cannot bear (to see him) in these straitened circumstances. He will not be able to speak at his parent's funerals, and if he doesn't go back, mother and son will have said their last words to one-another."

Thereupon he memorialized the throne, wishing to give (the office of the prefect of) Lyŏu-jōu to Yŭ-sí, and go himself to Bwò-jōu. A while later, other important officials interceded for Yŭ-sí, so he was transferred to Lyán-jōu.[30r]

The people of Lyŏu-jōu used to pawn themselves for money. If they did not pay off the debt before the time (for doing so) was past, the capital and interest were both lost, and they themselves were made male or female slaves. Dzūng-ywán devised means for redeeming them all and returning them.[31] In the case of the especially poor he ordered that they write out a (new) contract[32] with a view to working until they had made up the full value of their debt and returned their indenture (money). In the cases of those who had already been lost (i. e. been made slaves) he used his own[33] money to help redeem them.

All the men with *jìn-shř* degrees who were (stationed) in the south would walk several thousands of *lĭ* to follow Dzūng-ywán (in his) travels. Those who had been taught by him wrote in (his) style. His contemporaries called him Lyŏu Lyŏu-jōu.

In the fourteenth year of *Ywán-hé* (819) (on

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[20] Des Rotours 7, 30, 40.[n]

[21] Shàu-jōu. I cannot locate this prefecture.

[22] I. e. he enjoyed the natural beauties of the surrounding country. Dzūng-ywán's travel notes are some of his best works.

[23] *Lí-sāu*; this poem written by Chyū Ywán[o] when he was sent to Chángshā by Chū Hwái-Wáng was a model which officials who were exiled imitated in telling of their woes. Vid. *Shř-jìh*, biography of Chyū Ywán and the *Chyán-Hàn-Shū*, the biography of Jyă Yí.

[24] Ōu-yáng Syōu inserts this letter and the letter to Syŭ Mèng-rúng in his biography of Dzūng-ywán, but they do not add substantially to the information, consequently have been omitted in this translation.

[25] Vid. supra.

[26] *Jèn-Fŭ*, a poem discussing the signs by which it is known a ruler has the "mandate of heaven." Vid. *Hé-dūng Syān-shēng Jí*[p] *jywăn* 1, section 4.

[27] *Chéng-Jyòu*, done in the style of Chyū Ywán's *Chŭ-Tsř*. Indeed, it was selected by Cháu Tài-Shř in his *Continuation of the Chŭ Tsř*. Ibid. *jywăn* 2, sec. 4.

[28] Vid. Introduction, note 9.

[29] Bwò-jōu, in present day Gweijou province, Dzwēn-yì-*syàn*.

[30] Lyán-jōu, in modern Szchwān, Yún-lyán-*syàn*.

[31] In the biography contained in *Hé-dūng Syān-shēng Jí* the character for "return' is omitted.

[32] Dzūng-ywán was evidently bringing the Táng legal code to these barbarians. In the Táng law book[q] *Jywăn* 26, heading 17, we find that it is illegal to take a freeman's person as collateral for a loan. The law book says that instead the man whose person is taken as collateral shall make a contract of work (the same character used in the biography)[r] with the creditor, and that each day's work shall be considered as 3 feet of silk. Monetary values during the Tang were based on *pĭ*,[s] bolts of silk.

[33] The *New Tang History* has the character *yĭ*,[t] "already" which I take to be a mistake for *jĭ*,[t] "self," because the *Old Tang History* uses *Sz̄*, "self(ish)."[u]

the fifth of the tenth month[34, 35]) he died; aged forty-seven.

When young, Dzūng-ywán was covetous of advancement, he maintained that great accomplishment was possible (for him to attain). But, having been tried and cast off he never again rose (to high office). Still, his ability was indeed great, and his name covered (was known throughout) the whole period. Hán Yù says of his writings that:

"They were heroic, deep, elegant and rugged like (those of) Sž-mă Dž-jăng.[36s] Tswéi (Yīn) and Tsài (Yūng)'s (writings)[37t] are not worth more than (Dzūng-ywán's)."

(Dzūng-ywán) having died, the people of Lyŏu-jōu cherishing him, invented a folk tale that he (his spirit) descended into the temple of the prefecture, and that he who spoke ill of him would die suddenly.

He was enshrined at Lwó-Chĭ and Hán Yù inscribed a *bēi*[38u] there to testify to it, so it is said.

[34] The *Old Tang History* adds this exact date which may be apocryphal.

[35] This is the commentary of Ōu-yáng Syōu on the character of the individual as he sees it. This custom of the Chinese historians was started by Sž-mă Chyān, and most of the historians followed.

[36] Sž-mă Chyān.

[37] Tswéi Yīn and Tsài Yūng, two famous officials of the Hòu Hàn. Tswéi Yīn was an associate of Bān Gù, the author of the *Chyán-Hàn-Shū*.

[38] Lwó-chĭ[v] was somewhere in Lyŏu-jōu. What modern city it is near is uncertain.

GLOSSARY OF CHINESE TERMS

Introduction

TEXT		NOTES
a 柳宗元	n 二王劉柳	a 雁門道
b 愚溪詩序	o 王伾	b 杜佑
c 永州, 柳州	p 李忠言	c 通志
d 賜死	q 牛昭容	d 管夷吾, 管仲
e 韓愈	r 吏部郎中	e 諸葛亮
f 論佛骨表	s 韓泰	f 伊尹
g 憲宗	t 陳諫	g 周公
h 文公	u 凌準	h 賦
i 歐陽修	v 韓曄	
j 韋執誼	w 范希朝	
k 德宗	x 潘鎮	
l 山陰, 越州	y 順宗	
m 劉禹錫	z 廣陵王	

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TEXT		NOTES	
a 河東	l 離騷	a 王仁祐	l 籃田
b 魂	m 蕭俛	b 武后, 武則天	m 監察御史 (裏行)
c 中書令	n 許孟容	c 愛州	n 禮部員外郎
d 鎮	o 眞符	d 柳亭	o 屈原
e 王屋山	p 懲咎	e 左衛率府, 兵曹參軍	p 河東先生集
f 吳	q 播州	f 殿中侍御史	q 唐律疏議
g 郭子儀	r 連州	g 驩州	r 庸
h 朔方府	s 司馬子長	h 侍御史	s 匹疋
i 竇參	t 崔(馬因), 蔡(邕)	i 博學宏詞 (科)	t 已=
j 夔州	u 碑	j 校書郎	u 私
k 邵州		k 尉	v 羅池

SANSKRIT *pudgala-* 'BODY; SOUL'

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[Skt. *pudgala-* 'body; soul' is a Sanskritization of Middle Indic *puggala-* 'individual' (so Pāli), which represents an Early Middle Indic **puthakala-*, a derivative of Skt. *pṛ́thak* 'separately.'] [1]

1. THE INDIC WORD whose Sanskrit form is *pudgala-* m. is primarily proper to the Buddhistic and Jaina tradition.

Its oldest documentation is Pāli *puggala-*, frequent from the Nikāyas on (D, M, S, A); it means (Pāli Dict.): 'the individual (as opposed to a group), person, man; soul.'

The word is equally usual in Buddhistic Sanskrit. B-R and Böht. respectively quote *pudgala-* with the meanings 'Ich, Seele' from Lalitavistara and 'Individuum, Subject (in verächtlichem Sinn)' from Saddharmapuṇḍarīka. It appears in Senart's index to the Mahāvastu, and the Divyāvadāna has a derivative *paudgalika-* 'selfish' (Cowell and Neil, index). According to a communication of Professor Edgerton, the word is common in the whole Buddhistic Sanskrit literature and the usual form of the manuscripts is *puṁgala-*, with secondary nasalization. I note this variant e. g. from Mahāv. 1. 291. 16.

The term no doubt belonged already to the Buddhistic Proto-Canon, and probably had there the form **puggala-*.

2. Another current of the word appears in the Jaina tradition. Here the usual form is *poggala-*, and this is frequent in the Ardhamāgadhī Sūtras (Āyāraṅga, Bhagavatī, Uvāsagadasāo, Ovavāiya, Kappasutta [Pischel § 125], Ṭhāṇaṅga and Sujjapaṇṇatti [Sheth]). The meaning is according to the Ardhamāgadhī Dictionary of Ratnacandra (1930): (1) 'a material molecule having form, taste, smell, and touch; one of the six substances'; (2) 'the soul'; (3) 'flesh' (Piṇḍanijjutti). Schubring, Die Lehre der Jainas (1935), says (88): "*Poggala*, das Wort für Atom, kommt in der Grundbedeutung 'konkreter Körper' Viy. 176b vor, als Teil eines Individuums 240a. Das Atom ist ewig wie die Substanz, von der es der letzte Teil, und die unter den Grundtatsachen die einzige körperliche ist. In seiner Feinheit, die sich der sinnlichen Wahrnehmung entzieht, ist es jenseit jedes Werkzeugs und unteilbar, aber im Besitz von Farbe, Geruch und Geschmack . . ." The Digambara dialect of the Pavayaṇasāra, Pischel's 'Jaina Śaurasenī,' has both *poggala-* and *puggala-*. Sheth also gives a form *poggara-* and neuter gender, both without separate references.

Later on, the word appears in Sanskrit form in Jaina Sanskrit: B-R 7. 1771 quote *pudgala-* 'Körper' from Hemacandra's Yogaśāstra, and Böht. cites *paudgalika-* 'aus Substanz bestehend' from the commentaries of Śīlāṅka (9th cent.).

The term is also mentioned in Brahmanic Sanskrit treatments of Jaina doctrine: Śaṅkara, in the commentary to the Vedāntasūtra (around 800), quotes *pudgala-* as the Jaina term for 'jedes Ding von bestimmten Dimensionen mit Inbegriff der Atome' (Böht.), and the same definition is given by the Sarvadarśanasaṁgraha (B-R 5. 1603).

Outside the Jaina literature, the word seems hardly to occur in Prākrit; Pischel § 125 quotes a Māg. *puggala-* from Prabodhacandrodaya.

As the Buddhistic Proto-Canon was probably in a kind of Old Ardhamāgadhī,[2] closely related to the original language of the Jaina Sūtras (before this language was transformed into Later Middle Indic and underwent Western influence), both currents of *puggala-*, the Buddhistic and the Jaina one, spring from the same dialectic source: Old Ardhamāgadhī.

3. In sharp contrast to this commonness of *puggala-* etc. in the Buddhist and Jaina tradition is the rarity of *pudgala-* in regular (Brahmanic) Sanskrit.

The lexicons have the word: it appears in

[1] I am indebted to Professor Franklin Edgerton for helpful criticism.—For typographical reasons, accented *ṛ* has been set as *ṛ́*.

[2] Cf. Lüders, Bruchstücke buddhistischer Dramen 41 (1911): "Auch der buddhistische Kanon wird ursprünglich in Alt-Ardhamāgadhī abgefaßt sein." Somewhat differently Edgerton, BSOS 8. 509 and 516 (1936).

Amarakośa (without definition of the meaning), Trikāṇḍaśeṣa, Hc. an. (3.664-5 [Zachariae]: *pudgalaḥ || kāye rūpādimaddravye sundarākāra ātmani* 'pudgala means body, an object of form etc., [of] beautiful form [on this meaning cf. below § 5], soul'), Hc. abhidh. (564 as synonym of *kāya-, deha-, śarīra-* etc.; 875 as synonym of *ātman-*), and Medinī.

But from literature only six occurrences seem to be quoted, and in two of these the real reading is *puṅgala-*, and in one more, a corruption of *puṅgala-*: B-R note *puṅkule* "(lies *pudgale*)" 'Körper' Spr. 2160 v.l. (the other reading is *kalevare*), *pudgala-* 'Materie' VP 5.20 in ŚKDr., and *pudgala-* 'Beiname Śiva's' MBh. 12.10414 (= *deha-* Nīlak.); Böhtlingk adds *pudgala-* 'Mann' Varāh. Bṛh. "(gedruckt *puṅgala*)" and *pudgalapati-* 'Fürst, König,' same source, "(gedr. *puṅgala°*)"; Monier-Williams mentions, moreover, *pudgala-* 'body' Hit. 1.41, v.l.;[3] this passage is identical with Spr. 2160 (old ed.) quoted by B-R; its *pudgala-*, therefore, is a Sanskritization of the *puṅgala-* presupposed by Spr. '*puṅkula-*'.

4. These occurrences are not only very few, they are also much later than Middle Indic *puggala-* and *poggala-* (which in their bases go back to the 3rd or 4th cent. B.C.). The only datable and probably oldest of them are those of Varāhamihira (6th cent.); but here the real reading is not *pudgala-* at all, but *puṅgala-*, and this is nothing else than the specifically Buddhistic Sanskrit form of Middle Indic *puggala-* (§ 1). Varāhamihira's *puṅgala-* (and likewise the corrupted *puṅkula-* of Spr.) is, therefore, apparently borrowed from Buddhistic Sanskrit.

But then it is very likely that the two remaining Sanskrit cases of *pudgala-*, those of VP and MBh. (the Hitopadeśa form, as has been shown, replaces older *puṅgala-*) are also loans from Middle Indic, either Buddhistic or (as for VP the meaning indicates) Jainistic; only here *puggala-* has been SANSKRITIZED.

This Sanskritization was either performed within Sanskrit tradition (as is apparently the case in the proverb of Spr. 2160 and Hit.), or, while Varāh. and Spr. *puṅgala-* are borrowed from the older MIDDLE INDIC 'Buddh. Skt.' form *puṅgala-*, the *pudgala-* of MBh. is already borrowed from the later SANSKRITIZED form of Buddhistic Sanskrit, *pudgala-*. A genuine (historic) Skt. *pudgala-* would then not exist; the Brahmanic form, like the Buddhistic one, would only be a Sanskritization.

The Sanskritization of *puggala-* into *pudgala-* may have followed the model of Pāli *uggata-* 'risen' : Skt. *udgata-*; *uggahaṇa-* 'taking up' : *udgrāhaṇa-*; *uggirati* 'to vomit up' : *udgirati* etc. There existed also other types of correspondence: *ugga-* 'strong' : *ugrá-*; *lugga-* 'broken' : *rugṇá-*; but the association of *ugg°* with *udg°* was probably dominant.

5. Besides the meanings 'body' etc., B-R and Böht. attribute to Skt. *pudgala-* also another, entirely different: 'beautiful' (their meaning [1]). This meaning is undubitably assumed by the lexicons: Trik. has 'śastākāra, (of) praised form' and 'śastaṁ vapuḥ,' and Hc. an. 3.664 (Zach.) and Med. give 'sundarākāra.' B-R interpret so also one literary passage, in Mārk. P. But in Middle Indic this meaning is unknown.

As the statements of the lexicons are not independent, but may go back to one error in a primary source, and the meaning of the one literary passage, that of Mārk. P., is of course uncertain, the existence of the meaning 'beautiful' is doubtful. If it is real, then *pudgala-* 'beautiful' could only be a different word. A possible explanation will be offered in § 12.

6. If Skt. *pudgala-* is merely a Sanskritization of Middle Indic *puggala-*, then the etymological investigation is only concerned with the latter form.

That *pudgala-* is of really Old Indic character was not likely from the outset, for Old Indic *dg* is very rare in non-composite words; its only origin seems to be **zg*, as in *madgú-* 'diver-bird' VS corresponding to Lith. *mazgóti* 'to dive,' palatalized (**zj*) Skt. *majj-* 'to dive' (Wackernagel § 155b).

On the other hand, a loan from Non-Aryan is unlikely in a definite philosophic term.

I know only one attempt at an etymology of *pudgala-*: Stede's connection in the Pāli Dict. with Skt. *púṁs-* 'man, male'; it is unsatisfactory both for form and meaning, for one does not see how *púṁs-* could yield *pudg°*, and *púṁs-* is essentially not 'individual,' but 'male.'

7. We start from the meaning.

The basic meaning of *puggala-* was apparently

[3] I find this Hitopadeśa *pudgala-* e.g. in H. Blatt's edition 1.36 (1930).

'separate, individual,' hence 'the individual body' or 'the individual soul,' and, on the other hand, 'the atom' ('* the single parts').

Now the idea of 'separate, individual' is commonly expressed in Sanskrit and Pāli respectively by *pṛthak* and *puthu-*.

Skt. *pṛthak*, RV+, means according to B-R 4. 858 'vereinzelt, einzeln, gesondert; zerstreut, auseinander; besonders, für sich.' In the Rigveda, the word seems not yet clearly to show the exact meaning 'individually.' True, Geldner, Translation, stresses the conception of 'separateness,' translating 'auseinander,' 'getrennt,' 'gesondert,' 'jeder für sich,' 'jeden einzelnen,' e. g. 1. 157. 1 *prâsāvīd devâḥ savitâ jágat pṛthak* 'Gott Savitṛ hat alles, was lebt, jeden einzelnen erweckt.' But Grassmann's translation gave predominantly 'hier und dort' (6 times; so also for 1. 157. 1), 'weit und breit' (3 times). The Atharvaveda, however, shows already the precise meaning 'individually' in the later Buddhistic sense; at 11. 5. 22, it says:

pṛthak sárve prājāpatyâḥ prāṇán ātmásu bibhrati,

and Whitney-Lanman translate: 'INDIVIDUALLY do all that are of Prajāpati bear breaths in their bodies.'

The meaning 'individual' comes out further in the abstracts and compounds of *pṛthak*: *pṛthaktva-* 'Besonderheit, Gesondertheit; Einzelnheit, Individualität' Nir., Śāṅkh.Śr., Kaṇāda, MBh., Bhāg. P., Suśr.; *pṛthak-kṛti-* 'Individuum' Bhāg.P. (B-R 5. 1610); *pṛthagātmatā-* f. 'Besonderheit, Gesondertheit' Am.K., Hc. abh. (both 'viveka,' i. e. 'Scheidung, Sonderung, Trennung'); *pṛthagātmikā-* f., according to B-R 'Individuum': Am. K. 'vyakti,' i. e. 'Verschiedenheit, Individuum'; Hc. abh. *vyaktis tu viśeṣaḥ* (i. e. 'Verschiedenheit, Individuum') *pṛthagātmikā*; *pṛthagātmikā-* may, therefore, also be 'Verschiedenheit.'

In Pāli, *puthu-*[1] = *pṛthak* (another *puthu-*, 'numerous,' is Skt. *pṛthú-*), according to Dict.PTS means: 'separated, individual, adv. separately, each' S (*puthu attā* 'individual self'), Th. 1, Jā. (= *visuṁ visuṁ* 'separately'), Milin. I add two examples from Childers: *puthu ekameko* 'each separately' Jā., and *puthuddisā namassati* 'he worships the several directions.' It is noteworthy that Pāli *puthu-* = *pṛthak* is both adverb and adjective (in compounds, like *pṛthagvidha-* 'verschiedenartig' Manu, MBh.+, *pṛthak* is adjectival even in Sanskrit). The final *-u* of Pāli instead of **-a* or **-aṁ* (cf. *tiriyaṁ* 'across' = *tiryák*) is probably due both to assimilation to the internal *u*, and to contamination with *puthu-* = *pṛthú-*; **pṛthú-* 'numerous, VARIOUS' and **pṛthak* 'different, SEVERAL' came into close meaning contact (cf. Childers s. v.).

The Prākrit forms of *pṛthak* are manifold: beside *dh* and *h*, we have cerebral *ḍh*, and beside *pu°*, *i*-variants *pi°*.

Ardhamāgadhī has frequent *puḍho* (invariable; with strange *-o*), according to Sheth 'alag, bhinn,' i. e. 'separate' Āyāraṅga Sutta, Supāsanāhacariya; the Ardhamāgadhī Dictionary of Ratnacandra, on the other hand, gives the meaning as 'big, many,' which would mean that *puḍho* is the continuation of *pṛthú-*, and only in compounds as 'different' (= *pṛthak*); Pischel § 78 equates *puḍho* with *pṛthak*, but gives no meanings. Other Ardhamāgadhī forms are *puḍhī-bhūya-* 'separated' Supāsan. (*pṛthagbhūta-*), but also, with *h*, *puhutta-* and *puhatta-* = *pṛthaktva-* (cf. Pischel l. c.), and with *i*, *pihaṁ* 'different' Piṇḍanijjutti (Ratnacandra).

Outside Ardhamāgadhī, Hc. 1. 188 gives *pidhaṁ*, *pihaṁ*, *pudhaṁ*, and *puhaṁ*. From Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā (probably JMāh.) Sheth quotes *pihaṁ*, *piḍhaṁ*, and *puḍhaṁ*.

In Prākrit also, **pṛthak* can become adjectival and be inflected: Sheth gives a "*piha-* adj. 'separate'" with a gen. pl. *pihappihāṇaṁ* from Viśeṣāvaśyakabhāṣya (JMāh.). From Hemacandra's Kumārapālacarita, Sheth quotes the adjectives *pihaya-* and *puhaya-* 'separate,' which would be **pṛthaka-*.

8. The agreement of meaning between Pāli *puthu-* 'individual' (*puthu attā* 'individual self') and *puggala-* 'the individual (as opposed to a group)' is virtually complete; *puggala-* is the substantive of *puthu-*.

The question arises then: can *pṛthak* (Early Middle Indic **puthak*) and *puggala-* be combined phonetically?

The *-ala-* can in no case stem from **puthak*; it would have to be suffixal. **Puthak* would have to be contained in the first part of the word: *pugg°* (Skt. *pudg°*). Can **puthak* and *pugg°* be reconciled? This is not at all impossible. Both words begin with *pu°*, and in view of the complete agreement of meaning this is hardly accidental; and to the dental and guttural occlusive of **puthak* corresponds in *pugg°* a guttural geminate, in Sanskrit *pudg°*, if it should contain something old

(cf. § 11), even a dental and a guttural occlusive: these elements are combinable.

If *pugg°* can be **puthak*, then *puggala-* would be from a base form **puthakala-*.

9. Before entering into the relation of *pugg°* to **puthak*, we first examine the enlargement *-ala-*. This would be a secondary suffix or suffix conglomerate, which transformed the adverb **puthak* into an adjective, like e. g. the suffix *-a-* which forms *ántara-* 'interior' from *antár* 'within' or (with vṛddhi) Pāli *bāhira-* 'exterior' from Skt. *bahíḥ* 'outside' (while Sanskrit has *bāhya-*).

The final *-la-* is of course the secondary suffix which appears as an enlargement of adjectives since the Rigveda and increasingly frequently later on. We have e. g. RV *bahulá-* 'abundant' beside RV *bahú-*; AV *jīvalá-* 'lively' beside RV *jīvá-* 'living' (Whitney § 1227a); AV *piṅgalá-* 'reddish-brown' beside MBh. *piṅga-*; MBh., Rām. *śītala-* 'cool' beside RV etc. *śītá-*; MBh. etc. *pṛthula-*, Pāli *puthula-* 'broad' beside RV etc. *pṛthú-*. Later Middle Indic adds e. g. Hc. *andhala-* 'blind' for *andhá-*, Deś. *mūala-* (and *mūalla-*) 'mute' for *mūka-*, etc. (Pischel § 595 end).

But we still have to account for one element of **puthakala-*: the *-a-* before the *-la-*. Now the adjectives in *-añc-* frequently have from the Rigveda on derivatives in *-aka-*. The majority of these are substantives, like *parāká-* n. 'die Ferne' from *párāñc-* 'abgewandt,' *arvāká-* n. 'die Nähe' from *arvā́ñc-* 'in die Nähe gewandt,' *samīká-* n. 'Kampf' from *samyáñc-* 'zusammen gewandt,' etc. But there are also clear adjectives in *-aka-*: beside RV *ápāñc-* 'rückwärts gewandt, westlich,' usually opposed to *práñc-* 'vorwärts gewandt, östlich,' we have *ápāka-*,[4] entirely clear in the opposition to *práñc-* in 1. 110. 2:

ābhogáyam prá yád icchánta aítanāpākāḥ práñco

'als nach Genüssen suchend ihr hinwandertet nach West und Ost' (Grassmann); so now, in Translation, also Geldner (contrary to former different view in Glossar): 'als ihr Unterhalt suchend westwärts, ostwärts . . . zogt.' Just so the adverbs *apākā́* and *apākā́t* 'hinten' (Neisser) are not from *ápāñc-* (this would form **ápācā* and **ápācaḥ*), but from **apāká-*. From *úpa*, there is no **úpāñc-*, but only an *úpāka-* 'nahe verbunden': RV *úpāke náktoṣā́sā* 'the joined night and dawn' (3 times).

We can, therefore, assume that, while Sanskrit had only the neuter-adverb *pṛ́thak*, the pre-stage of the Proto-Buddhistic and Proto-Jaina languages had, beside the adverb *pṛ́thak* (**puthak*) 'separately,' an adjective **pṛthaka-* (**puthaka-*) 'separate,' either that this was a thematic variant of the original adjective **pṛthañc-*, or that it was formed secondarily from the adverb *pṛ́thak*, after the analogy of *ápāka-* beside *ápāk*, or, more generally, of *ántara-* beside *antár*. And this **puthaka-* was further enlarged by *-la-* into **puthaka-la-*.

The form **puthaka-* might be directly attested in the Pkt. adjective *puhaya-* (and *pihaya-*) quoted by Sheth from Hemacandra's Kumārapālacarita (§ 7 end); but considering the late and artificial character of this text the genuineness of the forms is not assured.

L-derivatives are in later Indic especially frequent in place adjectives, based either on other adjectives or on adverbs. Ardhamāgadhī has e. g. *majjhilla-* 'middle,' *bāhirilla-* 'exterior,' *pacchilla-* 'posterior,' respectively from *majjha-*, *bāhira-*, and *pacchā* (Pischel § 595); and in New Indic, the adjectives of Hi. *mājhe* 'in the middle,' *āge* 'before,' and *pīche* 'behind,' are *majhlā*, *aglā*, and *pichlā*.

The formation of AMāg. *bāhirilla-* 'exterior': *bahíḥ* + *a* (*bāhira-*) + *l*-enlargement, is very close to the one we assume for **puthakala-*. Still nearer comes the Sanskrit substantive *antarāla-* n. 'intermediate space' Pāṇ. 2. 2. 26, Am.K.; Manu, Pañcat.

10. We can now investigate how **puthakala-* became *puggala-*. Apparently first *th* was deaspirated, hence **putakala-*. From here on two ways are possible: (a) either **putakala-* became **pudagala-* by sonorization of intervocalics, and then by syncope **pudgala-* and *puggala-*; or (b) **putakala-* was first syncopated into **putkala-*, **pukkala-*, and this became *puggala-* by sonorization of geminate.

Besides, as Ardhamāgadhī has predominantly a form with cerebral, *puḍho* (§ 7), and this development is regular in the East, it is very possible that the pre-stages of *puggala-* were in reality forms with cerebral: **puṭhakala-*, **puṭakala-*, **puḍagala-*, and **puḍgala-*.

The assumed processes: deaspiration, sonorization of intervocalics, syncope, and sonorization of geminate, are well established for Middle Indic.

[4] Cf. the recent discussion by Neisser, Zum Wörterbuch des Ṛgveda 50-1 (1924).

(1) Deaspiration is attested in Indic since the Rigveda, cf. *dvár-* 'door' = Gk. *θύρη*, Goth. *daur*, and *majján-* 'marrow' = OIcel. *mergr* (Gmc. **mazg-*, IE **mozgh-*) (JAOS 67.88), and becomes progressively more frequent later on: cf. Pāli *khudā-* 'hunger' = *kṣudhā-*; *maṭṭa-* 'polished' beside *maṭṭha-* etc. (W. Geiger §§ 40.2 and 62.2); Pkt. *sukka-* 'dry' as against Pāli *sukkha-*; *iṭṭagā-* 'brick' as against Pāli *iṭṭhakā-* etc. (Pischel §§ 302, 304); Skt. *muṇḍa-* 'head' = *mūrdhán-*; *muṇḍa-* 'shaven' = *vṛddha-* 'cut' (JAOS 65.82 and 84b).

(2) Sonorization of intervocalic stops occurs sometimes already in Pāli, as in *sujā-* 'sacrificial ladle' = Skt. *srúc-*; *pasada-* beside *pasata-* 'spotted antelope' = *pṛṣata-*, etc. (Geiger § 38). Most of these cases are probably residues from the Buddhist Proto-canon in Old Ardhamāgadhī. That this canon knew already sonorization of intervocalics, Sylvain Lévi (JA 10e sér., 20.495-514; 1912) inferred from Asoka's quotation *Lāghulovāde musāvādaṁ adhigicya* 'the lesson to Rāhula concerning the lie' (Calcutta-Bairat Rock Insc. 5-6; Hultzsch 173), which would be Pāli **Rāhulavādo musāvādaṁ adhikicca*, and from some fossilized Pāli elements like *jalogi pātuṁ* Vin. 'to drink in a leech's fashion' for normal **jaloka-* = Skt. *jalauka-* 'leech' (the attested Pāli word is *jalūpikā-* Milin.).

Normal Asokan also, as Lévi, op. cit. 510, has pointed out, shows already sporadically sonorization of intervocalics, especially in the East; in Rock Edicts, we have Jaugaḍa Sep. 2.7 *hidalogaṁ ca palalogaṁ ca* 'this world and the other world' for Dhauli Sep. 2.6 *hidaloka palalokaṁ ca*, and conversely Dhauli Sep. 2.7 *ajalā* 'unshakable' for Jaug. Sep. 2.9, 11 *acala*; in Pillar Edicts, Delhi Toprā 7.23 *vaḍikyā* and Queens Edict 3 *vaḍikā* 'grove' = **vṛtikā-*, Toprā 7.31, 32 *libi* 'rescript' for normal *lipi*, Nigālī Sāgar (Nepāl) 2 *thube* = *stūpa-*, and Sahasrām (South Bihār) 3 *pāvatave* 'to reach,' inf. of *prāp-*. In other forms, however, starts of the same phenomenon appear also in the West: Shāhb. 5.12 and Māns. 5.22, 23 have *hida-sukhaye*, and Kālsī 5.15 *hida-sukhāye* 'for the welfare and happiness' for Dhauli *hitasukhāye*, Shāhb., moreover, 5.11 *hapeśadi* 'he will neglect' for Māns. *hapeśati* etc., and 13.8 *avatrapeyu* 'they may be ashamed' = *apa-trap-*, without correspondences.

(3) Syncope is recognized in Middle Indic.

For Pāli, Geiger § 20 names *°agga-* 'house' from *°agāra-*, **ag^{a}ra-* (e.g. *uposathagga-* Vin. beside *uposathāgāra-* Vin. 'the Sabbath Hall,' etc.), with syncope of long *ā*, and *kho* 'indeed' = *khálu*, **khlu*; the former case a second member of compounds, the latter a (Pāli) enclitic.

Geiger's example *jaggati* 'to watch' = *jāgarati* is erroneous; the stem *jāgra-* exists already in Sanskrit, cf. 2d pl. *jāgratha* and ptc. (MBh.) *jāgramāṇa-* (Whitney, Gramm. § 1007a and § 1020a respectively), and has directly developed out of the weak stem *jāgṛ-*, *jāgr-*.

Geiger's *oka-* 'water' Dh. 34 from *udaka-*, **utka-*, **ukka-*, **ŏkka-* is very problematical;[5] even if in this passage (*vārijo . . . okamokata ubbhato* 'piscis . . . ex aquae domicilio ablatus' [Fausböll]) the first *oka-* is really with Buddhaghosa *udaka-* (which is quite likely), this is an entirely isolated development of the word; the normal Pāli form for 'water' is *udaka-*, while *oka-* is 'dwelling.'

Many more cases are given by Pischel for Prākrit (§ 148); unambiguous and instructive are e.g.: AMāg. *subbhi-* = *surabhí-* 'fragrant'; AMāg. *uppiṁ* = *upári* 'over'; and Triv. *katta-* = *kalatra-* 'wife' (through **kaltra-*); considering § 2 end, Ardhamāgadhī cases are especially relevant for *puggala-*.

Drastic cases of syncope in Middle Indic Sanskrit words and the Dhātupāṭha will be shown elsewhere.

(4) Of 'sonorization of geminate' I have recently quoted the following cases: Pāli *sagghasi* 'you will be able,' Asok. *caghati* 'she will be able' = *śakṣyati* (Geiger § 61); Pāli *kaḍḍhati* 'to draw' from *kaṭṭha-* = *kṛṣṭá-*; Pāli etc. *chaḍḍeti* 'to abandon' from **chaṭṭa-* = Pāli *catta-* = *tyaktá-* (JAOS 65.97); AMāg. *tubbhe* 'you' = Asok. *tuphe*, i.e. **tupphe*; and Hi. *ūbh* 'heat' = Guj. *ũph*, Skt. *ūṣmán-* (Lang. 22.192); others will be set forth in the future.

11. If the development of *puggala-* went through **pudagala-*, **pudgala-*, then the Sanskritization *pudgala-* would be correct: the preform of *puggala-* would really have been **pudgala-*. This agreement could of course be a mere coincidence. But it is natural to ask whether the historical correctness of the Sanskrit form had not a definite foundation. Did perhaps the Sanskritizers still KNOW

[5] In Dh. 91, *oka-* cannot (with Geiger) be *udaka-*.

that *puggala-* was related to *puthu-* 'separate'? Or might there be a direct historical connection between the Sanskrit form and the Middle Indic intermediate? That is to say, may the preform **pudgala-*, either dialectically or as side form, have lived on in Middle Indic beside *puggala-* down to the time when (probably in Buddhistic Sanskrit) the first Sanskrit forms *pudgala-* arose?

What seems at first to permit this suspicion is the fact that the cluster *dg* of **pudgala-* is not a normal Old Indic one, but is of later, Middle Indic, origin, having arisen only by syncope. May this LATER cluster, dialectically or in side forms, have continued some time beside the assimilated group? I do not think so. As Middle Indic had no clusters of stops, the *dg* of **pudgala-*, although secondary, was probably assimilated immediately after the syncope.

I see only one possibility by which *d* could have continued in Middle Indic: unsyncopated forms, of the type **pudagala-* or, with at least a remainder of the vowel, **pud^{a}gala-*, may, dialectically or as side forms, have lived on in Middle Indic beside syncopated *puggala-*; and they would of course have given the Sanskritization a clear lead.[6]

[6] At least part of these forms (the Western ones) may have had *d*, even if *puggala-* goes back to a form with *ḍ* (cf. § 10).

This whole reasoning is pertinent only if *puggala-* has developed through **pudagala-*. If the development was **putakala-*, **putkala-*, **pukkala-*, *puggala-* (§ 10), then the Sanskritization *pudgala-* would simply be wrong.

12. We have seen in § 5 that the lexicons also attribute to Skt. *pudgala-* the meaning 'beautiful.' Because of its precarious attestation in literature and its lack in Middle Indic, we regarded this meaning as doubtful. But in general the lexicons are reliable. Now if *pudgala-* 'beautiful' should be real, it might reflect a Middle Indic **puggala-* = Skt. *puṣkalá-*, with a development *pukkhala-* > **pukkala-* and **puggala-* by 'sonorization of geminate' (§ 10. 4). Skt. *puṣkalá-* has two principal meanings: (1) 'reichlich, viel,' and (2) 'prächtig, herrlich' (B-R); '*puṣkalas tu pūrṇe śreṣṭhe*' says Hc. an. 3. 664 (Zach.) (the word stands immediately before *pudgala-*). True, Pkt. *pukkhala-* (*pokkhala-*), according to Sheth, does not have the meaning 'beautiful,' any more than does Pkt. *puggala-* (*poggala-*); it continues only the first meaning of Skt. *puṣkalá-*, 'abundant' ('atyant, prabhūt, saṁpūrṇ'). But **puggala-* 'beautiful' may have existed in individual Prākrit dialects.

XISOUTHROS, DEUCALION AND THE FLOOD TRADITIONS

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AMONG THE extra-Biblical flood-stories those centering about the names Xisouthros and Deucalion still hold an interest. The above title mentions these names simply as keynotes that at once bring the stories that are meant to the readers mind. Xisouthros comes to us through the fragments of the Hellenistic-Babylonian writer Berossos, whose real name, as Zimmern has suggested, was doubtless Bēl-rē'uššu.[1] He states in the first book of his "Babyloniaca" that he was a contemporary of Alexander the Great and had taken his material from records that were carefully preserved at Babylon since the earliest times. Some of the things he relates can not yet be vindicated from the inscriptions but where comparable source material has come to light it has been shown that he is a

[1] Cf. Lehmann-Haupt, *Neue Studien zu Berossos*, Klio, 22, 1929, 129 and Reallexikon Der Assyriologie II, 2. The name means "Bel is his Shepherd." Only the form *Bēl-rē'ussunu* "Bel is their shepherd" has been actually found so far, but *Addu-rē'ussu* shows that "his shepherd" is equally possible.

good reporter of what the native records contained. His version of the flood story, therefore, deserves careful attention, the more since he specifically claims that he is drawing it from an earlier written source.[2]

Since the discovery of the cuneiform story of the deluge in the 11. tablet of the Gilgamesh epic, that version has naturally held the limelight. Its value is indeed of the highest order. But we must make clear to ourselves that this account is an incomplete version, because it has secondarily been drawn into the Gilgamesh cycle from an originally independent source. In order to achieve concentration on the most essential point for the Gilgamesh Epic—how Ut-napishtim had become immortal—the independent story had to be abridged at the beginning and the end. Berossos, however, knew the independent story, though he, too, abridges it somewhat at the beginning.

According to his story "Kronos" reveals to Xisouthros his purpose of sending a flood. He is to bury certain records at Sippara, the city of the sun, build a ship and go aboard it with his family and close friends, put in it also living creatures and set sail. When asked where he was going he was to say, "To the gods in order to pray that men may have blessings." We need not repeat the rest of the story here except for its conclusion. A heavenly voice admonishes the flood-survivors and tells them of the translation of the flood-hero, his wife, his daughter and the pilot. The voice also tells them that they should return to Babylon as it had been determined, take the writings out of Sippara and communicate them to men, and it reveals to them that the land where they were belonged to Armenia. When they heard this they sacrificed to the gods and went on foot to Babylon. Here Berossos introduces an item about relics of the ship still being in existence and having a healing use. Then he resumes his connection, saying that they went then to Babylon, dug up the writings at Sippara, founded many cities, built temples and so re-created Babylon.

Berossos doubtless used a version that had descended from the Sumerian and not from the line represented by the Atraḫasis epic (though the two were naturally related), for the name he gives the flood hero, Xisouthros, is not, as was formerly believed, derived from an inversion of *Atra-ḫasis*, but is derived from a Sumerian equivalent of the name Ut-napishtim (rūḳu) : Zi-u-sud-ra < Zisutra < Xisouthros.[3] Nevertheless it must be granted that Berossos modernized the Babylonian story slightly at certain points.[4] In the beginning he makes Kronos (Enlil) reveal the intention of sending a flood. Actually, as we know from the Gilgamesh Epic version, it was Ea who betrayed what had been decided in the council of the gods. The reason for this change is that Berossos wants to modify the crude polytheism of the original story out of consideration for enlightened Greek taste. In place of having the gods at cross purposes he makes the supreme God Kronos the sole divine figure in the drama.[5] The formulation at least is modernizing when he says that the hero was instructed to inscribe the beginning, middle and end of all things on tablets and deposit them at Sippara. This probably reflects the apocalyptic eschatology based on astronomy and mathematics that was new in Berossos' time. If the contents of the tablets were referred to in the cuneiform original which Berossos used it must have been in different words. Lehmann-Haupt substitutes "the accounts of the ancient wise men."[6] A deeper reaching change has been made in the final scene on the mountain; the other flood survivors stay in the ship until Xisouthros, his wife, his daughter and the pilot have been translated. This on the one hand was calculated to enhance the mystery of the disappearance, which mortal eyes ought not to see, and on the other hand guaranteed the new point that Berossos desires to make about the relics of the ship and their use for healing purposes. By keeping the other survivors in the ship to the last no doubt is left about the fact that the ship remained *in situ* ever after. The item about the

[2] Cf. the fragment Schnabel, *Berossos und die Babylonisch-Hellenistische Literatur*, 1923, 251. For a recent translation cf. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and O. T. Parallels*, 1946, 116 f.

[3] Zimmern, *Die Altbabylonischen Vor- und Nachsintflutlichen Könige*, ZDMG, 1924, 24.

[4] Ungnad and Gressmann, *Das Gilgamesh Epos*, 1911, 213 f. Schnabel, op. cit., 180 f., contents himself with quoting Gressmann's analysis of the relation of Berossos to the cuneiform story. Lehmann-Haupt, op. cit., 135, also approves of Gressmann's views.

[5] This seems to me to explain the mention of Kronos. It is unnecessary to assume that Berossos identifies Ea with Kronos, as Lehmann-Haupt and others do.

[6] *ša pī abkallē labirūtī ša lam abūbī*. Cf. the comments of Zimmern, l. c. p. 28.

relics is perhaps the most obvious and easily removable modernization—though resting on a local legend of Armenian origin, a "geologische Ortssage," as Gressmann calls it. This observation has helped to clarify the problem of the localization of Mt. Niṣir by showing that Armenia or Ararat is a younger localization that does not need to be considered in the identification. The last modernizing element to which we shall refer here is that of the heavenly voice, so familiar to us as the "*bath ḳol*" from Judaism and the N. T. Berossos uses it to cover up the polytheism of the narrative, for the tale he received must have spoken of a direct communication by a god—doubtless Ea.

But while there are modernizations in Berossos' account, there are also elements that are most archaic. Among these must be numbered the one in his introduction that Xisouthros was to say to the curious, when asked where he was going with the ship, "To the Gods in order to pray that men may have blessings." This corresponds fully to the idea of the flood-hero in the Atraḫasis Epic, in which he like Moses, Exodus 22:32, or Amos, 7:1 f., repeatedly intercedes for mankind with the gods in preliminary visitations sent before the flood (the part relating to that climactic catastrophe has not yet been found).[7] But an even stronger support for the antiquity of this element can be discovered when one compares the final scene on the mountain in Berossos' story with that of the Gilgamesh epic version. The changes made by Berossos (or his source?) in the matter of keeping the other survivors aboard the ship until after the translation involves a peculiar change in the idea of the translation itself. In the old Gilgamesh Epic version Enlil once more escorts Utnapishtim and his wife aboard the ship, which all the survivors had quitted. Here, kneeling, they receive the divine blessing and assurance of immortality. Why do they alone go aboard the ship again—leaving the other survivors "on shore"? Obviously because they are imagined as sailing away to the land of the Gods on the ship. Beneath the veneer of the story lies solar mythology. Thus the conclusion presupposed in the Gilgamesh epic version fully confirms the point that was made in the introduction of the Berossos' version where Xisouthros says that he is sailing away to the Gods. The hero spoke words the import of which he himself did not realize at the moment, but that are made fully true in the end. No better proof for the originality of the introductory element in Berossos' version could be asked for. But in the Berossos version the final boat trip to the other world has actually been cancelled in favor of a less vivid manner of removal. Perhaps the desire to include the item about the relics of the ship on the mountain top in the country of the Kurds is chiefly responsible for this change. The miracle of the flood and of man's survival would seem all the more credible to an age more strongly inclined toward rationalism if actual relics of the ship existed at some known point.

Having shown that the Berossos version of the introduction to the flood story rests on ancient material, we can now approach the conclusion of his flood story with considerable confidence. After the translation of Xisouthros (which as we know from the cuneiform version was surprisingly ordained by the repentant Enlil) another revelation is necessary directing the other survivors to carry out what was implicit in the original revelation given to the flood hero: to return to their country, dig up the tablets buried at Sippara and rebuild the ruined land. Gressmann has seen that this ending of the story of Berossos explains an element of the Gilgamesh epic version which finds no explanation in the latter, namely that the flood hero took "all the artisans" aboard the ship. Why this? It was because of the large scale building activity that was necessary for the rehabilitation of Babylonia after the flood. Gressmann regards this as showing that Berossos has retained very ancient material here. We may put it more concretely and say that Berossos here is giving us the point of the whole independent flood story. The latter we believe, was by no means focussed exclusively on the personal destinies of Xisouthros-Utnapishtim. It had a larger scope and its great concern was with the survival of civilization and of mankind. Acceptance of a theory of the destruction of humanity by the flood created the question whether man had to start over again from barbarism. The Atraḫasis epic version deals with a part of the problem—that of the renewal of humanity; for in its final fragment it shows us how the

[7] Cf. the new translation of the Atraḫasis fragments in Heidel, op. cit., 106 f. Gressmann and Lehmann-Haupt, therefore, are mistaken in considering the emphasis on the piety of the hero as late.

goddess Mama, who had displayed such grief and anger at the scene on the mountain in the Gilgamesh epic version (where she is called "the Great," for short), acts to rectify the mistake of Enlil and the other gods and provides for the rapid increase of human beings. This point apparently was not deemed worthy of mention by Berossos, or may not have been stressed in the version he used. But certain it is that the story used by him dwelt on the renewal of civilization. An item in his introduction paves the way for it from the outset. The deity had commanded Xisouthros to store away tablets at Sippara. In the light of what is subsequently said we may suppose that these tablets contained all the knowledge important for the reconstruction of civilized life. After the deluge the survivors are directed to return and dig up the tablets at Sippara. This they do and then start their building activity. Thus everything is tied together in splendid unity—the craftsmen of the Gilgamesh version provide the skill, the tablets provide the scientific knowledge and the blueprint of religious and civil life and so the whole drowned civilization can be successfully renewed, without man's having to start over again from the original status in which, as Berossos says, "men lived like the wild animals." [8] These aspects of the Berossos' account thus have an ancient ring, when one recalls the interest in civilization and its origins shown by some of the old Sumerian epics on which Dr. Samuel N. Kramer has been shedding so much light.[9] It thus appears certain that the journey to Babylon and the rebuilding activity are the real conclusion of the ancient flood story used by Berossos.

Several other points in the Berossos' story require elucidation. The first is the emphasis on Babylon. One is tempted to take the word in the sense in which it occurs in some O. T. passages (Isaiah 14:4, Psalms 87:4, 137:1, Ezra 5:13, Nehemiah 1:6) as the name of the province rather than the city.[10] But the Greek could differentiate, and if that were the nuance would have had "Babylonia" — rather than Babylon. The city is thus intentionally stressed. In the old epic Utnapishtim's home is Shurippak. It is not clear where the flood hero of the Atraḫasis epic dwelt. But for the flood story of Berossos it seems clear that the events center around Babylon.[11] As Lehmann-Haupt points out, we here have the transfer of tradition originally pertaining to more southerly, Sumerian cities to Babylon (the flood hits Xisouthros and his followers in Babylon, the survivors return again to Babylon, and the old records of the wise men from before the flood are buried and recovered in Sippara which is right next door to Babylon). This process of appropriation of the flood-story may have begun very early [12]—perhaps in the days of the First Dynasty, when Marduk of Babylon became chief god of the Babylonian pantheon. Since he was the son of Ea—the god to whose glory the flood story must chiefly have been rehearsed—he could readily become the heir of these materials. That Sippara and its god Shamash were permitted to share the spotlight with Babylon has good reasons that no one seems to have pointed out. We must recall that Shamash played a role friendly to mankind in the flood story, as vouchsafed by the Gilgamesh epic version, for he tells Utnapishtim the right time to enter the ship. If solar motifs associated themselves with the flood hero and his ship, as they seem to have done (cf. below), this would contribute still another reason for stressing the "city of the sun." We must also recall that Sippar played an important role in Hammurabi's time as is apparent from the fact that it was here that the great king set up his stela and code of laws. Finally, that the tablets were buried and recovered at Sippar suggests that the temple library of Sippar was regarded as particularly ancient in the days of the parent version of Berossos. But in spite of this concession to Sippar Berossos' conclusion of the flood story centers about Babylon. While the "*ktisis*" or "creation" of other cities and sanctuaries is referred to, the "*epiktisis*" or "re-creation" of Babylon itself is the main point of interest.

In another article I have tried to show that

[8] Schnabel No. 7, p. 253.

[9] Cf. Kramer, *Sumerian Mythology*, 1944.

[10] The translator in Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, 1922, 82, renders "Babylonia." But this is misleading.

[11] The emphasis on the city of Babylon in Berossos is particularly stressed by Lehmann-Haupt, op. cit., 127 and in his valuable article on Berossos in the *Real-lexikon*.

[12] Thus the king list W.B. 62 shows a revision of tradition in the interest of Larsa, while Berossos reflects revision in the interest of Babylon. Cf. Zimmern, op. cit., 27.

Gen. 11:2 (J^1) is a counterpart of the conclusion of the Babylonian flood-story (the full scope of which cannot be discerned from the abridged version of the Gilgamesh Epic but only from Berossos) and that a further trace of a J^1 flood-story has survived in Gen. 8:7. I must refer the reader to that article for the oldest phase of the Hebrew tradition.[13] In the present connection I shall confine myself, so far as Berossos and the Hebrew tradition are concerned, to pointing out the affinity that exists between a younger element in Berossos and the flood-story of the Priestly writer. According to the latter the ark landed on one of the mountains of Ararat (8:5). This name took on new vividness when its identity with *Urarṭu,* the name of the kingdom in the vicinity of Lake Van against which Assyrian rulers carried on military campaigns, was realized. In recent years it has become certain that the Mt. Niṣir, on which the ark landed, according to the Gilgamesh Epic version, was far to the south of the Ararat area. Berossos, however, makes the ship run aground in Armenia, giving the up-to-date name in place of the name Urartu (Ararat) that his tradition may have used. Oddly Berossos makes a heavenly voice reveal to the flood survivors where they were. This was not necessary when the ark landed on Mt. Niṣir—a mountain near Babylonia—but was added in view of the new localization. In his antiquarian addition about the relics of the ark Berossos speaks more explicitly of the locality as in the mountains of the Kordyaeans in Armenia. This puts the scene in the area of the Jebel Judi.[14] The Ararat of the Priestly writer shows that Berossos did not invent the more northerly localization, but that it had entered the flood tradition at least a century before. The reason for this removal of the localization to a more remote point is doubtless this, that better geographical knowledge concerning the countries to the north made it clear that there were higher mountains than Mt. Niṣir. The flood might not have wiped out Urartaeans or Medes, if the inundation was only high enough to cover Mt. Niṣir (9,000 feet). The landing of the ark on one of those highest mountains was the most vivid way of saying that nobody had been able to escape.

We must now turn to that other flood-hero Deucalion. A particular interest attaches to the Syrian version of the story about him which is referred to in passing in the treatise "On the Syrian Goddess" attributed to Lucian.[15] The iniquity of men was so great, this story asserted, that humanity had to be destroyed. Simultaneously "the earth discharged a vast volume of water and the rivers of heaven came down in streams"—a statement that is identical with P's in Gen. 7:11. Only Deucalion was saved on account of his piety by hiding himself with his wives and children in a great *larnax* or chest that he possessed. When he entered it all manner of animals came *in pairs,* seeking safety. (P's version still has the entry of animals in pairs.) He received them all, and none rewarded him with ingratitude, but a great friendship was among them, divinely caused. They drifted along in the "chest" so long as the waters of the flood prevailed. But after the waters had run off through a cleft in the earth Deucalion opened the "chest," constructed altars and founded the holy temple of the goddess Atargatis, or Derketo, over the aforesaid cleft. It is the temple at Bambyke, or Hierapolis.

It seems quite clear that we here have a flood-story uninfluenced by the Biblical accounts but containing related elements. It does not reflect on a landing on a mountain and therein proves closely parallel to the J^2 narrative. Another peculiar touch is the way in which it deals with the creatures. A loving and kindly relation between the flood hero and the animals prevails. Who is not reminded of the fact that in the J^2 narrative the faithful dove brings the olive branch, and that Noah solicitously puts forth his hand for the dove to alight upon? A third point of close similarity is in the designation of the instrument of deliverance. The Babylonian story in all its versions spoke of a "ship." This Syrian story speaks of a *larnax* or "chest." It can hardly be doubted that behind this Greek word stands the same word found in the Bible story—*tēbāh,* "ark." But how

[13] *The Earliest Hebrew Flood-Story,* J. B. L. 1947, no. 3.

[14] Cf. Pauly-Wissowa s. v. *Kardouchoi.* Also Lehmann-Haupt, *Neue Berossos Studien,* p. 136. On the location of Mt. Niṣir see Speiser, *Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Ashurnaṣirpal and Today,* Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research 8, 1926-7, 18.

[15] Cf. Strong and Garstang, The Syrian Goddess, 1913, Clemen, *Lukian's Schrift über die Syrische Göttin,* 1938 (Der Alte Orient 37).

shall we account for the use of that term instead of the common word for ship? It seems quite clear that "ark" is a secondary infiltration into the flood tradition. What led to the choice of the word? Exodus 2:3 gives us the answer—the ark is the chest into which the divine babe is placed. The flood hero in his ship has become identified with the infant sun god in his ark in such a manner that the latter word has become the designation for his ship. This fits excellently with the fact that the name Deucalion, as Usener has shown, means "the infant Zeus."[16] This identity of *larnax* and *tēbāh* is so startling that when this point is added to the others mentioned it would appear that J^2 drew his flood story from the same tradition which we find localized in Hierapolis. Realization that mythology has brought in the word *tēbāh* will furthermore provide a key to the J^2 introduction of the word *mabbūl* as term for the deluge—a word that seems originally to have applied to the heavenly ocean, as reflected in Gen. 7:10, Ps. 29:10.[17] But perhaps the final and most important indication of the origin of the J^2 story is the fact that doves and doves only are sent out by Noah. The Lucian story does not mention this point, but that may be accidental or due to the fact that this element has been lost in the Greek versions in general. The dove is sacred to the mother goddess in many places and Lucian expressly states that this was the case at Hierapolis. This bird even appears on coins from that place, perched on the roof of a building which is flanked by the gods Hadad and Atargatis.[18] The doves also appear as sacred animals in the myth of Derketo localized at Ashkelon; they attend Derketo's babe by a human youth—Semiramis.[19] It can hardly be doubted that swallow and raven lost their place in J^2's flood story to doves because *this story came to J^2 from a sanctuary of the mother goddess* where this type of bird received all the credit. And thus is illustrated the significant fact that the shrines of the great mother goddess were also favorite places for the commemoration of the flood. This follows very naturally from her bitter grief and anger over the destruction of mankind in the final scene of the Gilgamesh Epic, whereby she becomes the third of a triad of gods (Ea, Shamash and Ishtar) friendly to humanity and concerned with its preservation.

There is still another point in which the J^2 and P flood stories hang together with the Deucalion story and with the western flood story versions and stand in sharp contrast to the Babylonian. It is in the idea that the hero was antecedent to subsequent humanity. It will be recalled that this is not in focus at all in Babylonia, for there the hero is translated and has no sons (though Berossos gives him a daughter that is translated with him). But in the Deucalion story in all its versions the hero remains on earth. In the material that came to Greece—it can be traced as far back as Hesiod and Pindar—the idea is stressed that Deucalion and Pyrrha inaugurate the new humanity. The translation of the hero is thus ruled out for both J^2 (and P) and the Greek versions, though strangely enough terms like *larnax* and *tēbāh*, which are reminiscent of the mythical element, and, therefore, of the translation idea continue to survive.

The problem of how a rapid increase of humanity after the flood could be effected evidently occupied all the story tellers. In the Greek versions (except Lucian's) Deucalion and Pyrrha are alone on earth after the flood. These versions really have stuck close to the Babylonian versions in not ascribing any sons to the flood hero but that brings the problem of human increase into especially sharp focus. Following divinely given directions the surviving pair throw stones, picked from the ground, backwards over their shoulders.[20] Out of those thrown by Deucalion male human beings immediately come into existence, and out of those thrown by Pyrrha females. This is a magic recreation of humanity. Now in a fragment of the Atraḫasis Epic the idea of magically increasing mankind after the flood is also found, though not imagined in exactly the same way.[21] Not the flood hero and his wife, who have been translated, but the goddess Mama and the god Ea are mentioned

[16] Usener, *Die Sintflutsagen*, 1899, 51 f.

[17] Cf. Begrich, *Mabbūl*, Zeitschrift für Semitistik, 1928, 135 f.

[18] Cf. the illustration in Strong and Garstang, or Gressmann, *Altorientalische Bilder*, 1927, no. 364.

[19] Diodorus, II, 4. Syrian and Mesopotamian lore was evidently imported by western sanctuaries devoted to the service of the same or related gods.

[20] One might suspect the seeming affinity of the words "stones" and "children" (Hebrew *'abānīm* and *bānīm*) to have had something to do with the genesis of this element of the story.

[21] Cf. Heidel's new translation, op. cit., 115 f.

in connection with this. Mama (a name of the great mother goddess in her function as goddess of birth) makes seven men and seven women. Clay wombs seem to play a role in the procedure, and a charm for women in travail is associated with the story. In this connection the suggestion of Ramsay that Bambyke (Hierapolis) gets its name from a goddess Baubo [22] that represents the womb takes on a new significance. Perhaps the Atraḫasis Epic stands in the background. It certainly seems clear that the western ideas of the magical increase of humanity, too, are merely metamorphosed from slightly different eastern ideas. The Greek form of the Deucalion tale thus carries on a very ancient Oriental motif.

When we turn to J^2 and P we find that they did not have the same degree of difficulty as some of the other story tellers in this matter. For them the flood does not terminate a long period of civilization or a very numerous humanity. Furthermore, by giving the flood hero three married sons to start with they make a rapid human increase reasonable. In this respect Lucian's version, which speaks of the flood hero's "wives and children," and thus resorts to polygamy to make the quick renewal of humanity even more readily conceivable, stands closer to J^2 and P than the western versions.

In its transfer to the west the flood-story—at home in a theory of two ages of history (an ante- and a postdiluvian)—was fitted into another Oriental theory of four ages of history, represented by four metals of decreasing preciousness. The flood-story had to be put at the end of the third age. It is a question whether Hesiod did not already have this arrangement.[23] We have seen in another connection, furthermore, that the received mythological materials had to be stretched to give a separate character to the bronze and silver ages.[24] What is told of the latter alone sounds distinctive and may have some affinity with Gen. 6:4. In the classic poem of Ovid, Metamorphoses 1, 157 f., we see the stream of the older mythological tradition reach Roman shores. The scheme of four ages with the flood at the end of the third—appears here with a self-evident fixity. A surviving Orientalism that illustrates how artificial and secondary the differentiation of silver and bronze ages really is appears in his silver age. It is a motif that we know from the J^2 flood story (8:22). For just as Yahweh there established the seasons after the flood so Jupiter here establishes them in the silver age. And Ovid has retained an original element that J^2 obviously has lost but that we can easily see is implicit in the mythological idea of Paradise or of the "land of the gods"—namely that this introduction of summer and winter was preceded by an age in which there was perpetual springtime! Not mythological tradition but reflection and rationalization largely govern what then follows in Ovid's account of the bronze age. It is marked by an increase of human ferocity and skill with weapons. As it continues there occurs the rise of all manner of crimes. Ovid particularly singles out the lust for gold (as expressed in feverish mining activity), war and robbery. Piety disappears before violence. The gods forsake the blood-stained lands and go to the sky—the last to depart being the Virgin Astraea. What Ovid relates here sounds reminiscent of what lies behind the tradition of the *gibbōrīm* in Gen. 6:4, Ez. 32:36 f., though the flight of the gods from the earth belongs actually to the flood-story and is found in the Gilgamesh Epic version:

> The gods were terror stricken at the deluge.
> They fled, they ascended to the heaven of Anu.[25]

But Ovid, in what he has told thus far, does not have sufficient moral grounds for a flood to suit his time and audience. So he draws on still other material; he tells that Jupiter descended to earth to investigate the situation. He is attacked in the house of his host Lykaon (in violation of all laws of hospitality) and, *horribile dictu,* even served a meal of human flesh. That the story has points of affinity with Yahweh's visit to Sodom in Gen. 18:21 has long been observed. The depravity thus seen at close range provides sufficient excuse for sending down destruction from heaven in both cases. But as already indicated Ovid here has made an artificial combination of separate tales.

We have tried to show that even late flood-stories contain valuable and interesting materials and preserve elements of great antiquity. They can not yet be entirely disregarded by either the Orientalist or the O. T. scholar.

[22] Ramsay, Journal of Hellenic Studies, 1918, p. 139.

[23] Cf. Usener, op. cit., 31.

[24] Cf. *The Significance and Origin of Gen. 6:1-4,* J.N.E.S., 1947, no. 3.

[25] XI, 114 f. Cp. Heidel, op. cit., 85. It is noteworthy that the "lovely voiced lady of the gods," Ishtar, then utters a lament, but it is not clear that she was the last to ascend to heaven.

THE LINGUISTIC STRUCTURE OF MONGOLIAN PLACENAMES

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1. Introduction.
2. Phonology.
3. Morphology and syntax.
4. The names and their structure.

1.1. THE PRESENT STUDY resulted from a project in the editing of a large number of maps of Mongolia and adjacent regions undertaken by the Army Map Service during the last war, the Board on Geographic Names of the U. S. Department of the Interior being called upon to provide the names of places and geographical features for the maps; the authors, then respectively Chief Linguist and Linguist for the Board (the second author is now Chief Linguist) made the necessary linguistic analyses.

Examination of available sources showed that placenames in Mongolia had been constantly recorded in an evidently haphazard and inaccurate manner, by explorers, travellers, military personnel, and so on, all of different national and language backgrounds, and mostly without adequate knowledge of the Mongolian language. The Russian sources were much more consistent and usable in all respects than any others, and the recent Russian work showed considerable study of and regard for the linguistic correctness of the names presented. It was found that most Mongolian placenames are descriptive and consist of ordinary words of the language whose meaning is known or ascertainable.

A Mongolian-English dictionary was compiled, and the names processed from it (see the note by the first author of the present paper in SIL 2. 96-8 [1944]). The compilation of the dictionary made it necessary to establish a phonemically sound orthography and to find out something about Mongolian grammar. The conclusions reached are briefly summarized below.

1.2. In the territory referred to as the Mongolian People's Republic, that is, the former Outer Mongolia or Mongolia proper, the dialect spoken by the largest number of people is Halha Mongolian, with minor local variations; Halha also extends into the Chinese border provinces known collectively as Inner Mongolia, and into Manchuria. The dialects of western Mongolia are somewhat different. The Halha dialect of Ulanbator (formerly Urga; in Mongolian, *Ulaan Baatar* 'red hero') has been used in recent years as the normalized standard language.

The old literary language, written in an inadequate alphabet, is based on an unknown dialect of the 14th century. It has been used in modern works, but is not, apparently, the language used in Mongolian official writing and journalism of recent years. This new literary language was at one time written in Latin letters but about 1936 a shift was made to Cyrillic. This Cyrillic orthography is the basis of the orthography being used for Mongolian placenames.

1.3. As we have had no opportunity to work with informants, all our information has had to be synthesized from written sources of varying quality, and it is necessarily subject to correction. Material on the phonology is fairly adequate. The conventional presentations of the morphology are full, but do not seem to give a correct picture of the system nor do they provide enough basis for a complete restatement, texts being conspicuously lacking.

Our chief sources are:

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A. V. Burdukov. Russko-monoglĭskiĭ slovarĭ razgovornogo äzyka, s predisloviem i grammatičeskim očerkom N. N. Poppe. Leningrad, 1935. [Our chief dictionary source.]

V. A. Kazakevič. Sovremennaä mongolĭskaä

toponomika, Leningrad, 1934. [Title also in literary Mongolian (for the transliteration see Trager's review of Bleichsteiner, Heissig, and Unkrig's Wörterbuch der heutigen mongolischen Sprache, 1941, in JAOS 66. 91-3 [1946]): 'dwk' yy' mw'-kẖ'wl 'wrw' w ẖ''ý'r 'wsw' w t'm'd'kl'kw n'r' twmyk' = *edügeiin mongol oronu gadzar usunu temdeglehü nere domige*, literally 'of now Mongol place's land water's description name account.']

2. 1. Mongolian has, phonetically, loud-stressed syllables with short and long vowels, with normal or raised pitch, medial-stressed syllables with long vowels and lowered or raised pitch, and weak-stressed syllables with very short vowels and low pitch. In utterances the stresses and pitches are so distributed as to indicate strong stress at the beginning of utterance-units, and raised pitch at the end when there is a long vowel.

There are, initially, voiceless lenis unaspirated stops and affricates [B, D, G, DZ, J], fortis aspirated stops and affricates [p', t', c', č'], voiceless spirants [s, š, x], nasals [m, n], laterals [lʏ, lˣ], a semivowel [y], and the only clusters are composed of [B, G, p', x, m, n, lʏ] plus [y]. Medially there are voiced spirants [β, γ], voiceless lenis stops and affricates [D, Gʏ, DZ, J̌], and [s, š, x, m, n, lʏ, lˣ, y, r]. Finally there are [B, D, G, s, ŋ, lʏ, lˣ, r]. Internal clusters of two consonants—a syllable-final and a syllable-initial—are possible, but our data are not complete on this point. The quality of the laterals depends on whether the adjacent vowels are front or back.

The major vowel qualities are short and long vowels in the ranges [i, ɛ, ɑ, ɔ, ʊ, ʉ, œ], with loud stress; and very short weak vowels, predominantly fronted [ə‹] or backed [ə›], with exact quality dependent on preceding loud-stressed vowels. There are also diphthongs of the types [a͡e, ɔ͡e, ʊ͡i, ɛ͡e, ʉ͡i].

2. 2. The above summary of the phonetics contains the relevant data for a phonemic statement. Utterance-units which may be called words are bounded by open juncture (marked by a space) statable in terms of initial loud stress, final raised pitch on long vowels, and the distribution of consonant and vowel allophones.

Initial consonant phonemes are *b, d, g, dz, j, p, t, ts, ch, s, sh, h, m, n, l, y* (clusters: *by, gy, py, hy, my, ny, ly*). Medial consonants are *b, g, d, dz, j, s, sh, h, m, n, l, y, r*. Final consonants are *b, d, g, s, n, l, r*, and rarely *m*. (A unit-symbol orthography would replace *dz, ts, ch, sh* by *z, c, č, š* respectively, but we stick to the typographically simpler spelling referred to in § 1. 2.)

The vowel phonemes are *i, e, a, o, u, ü, ö* in initial syllables. The long vowels are phonemic double vowels—*ii, ee, aa, oo, uu, üü, öö*. In weak syllables there are the long vowels and the short vowels except *u, ü*. The diphthongs (both first and non-first syllables) are probably vowel (*a, o, u, e, ü*) plus the consonant *y* rather than the vowel *i*.

The vowel sequence *ua* occurs in a few Chinese loanwords, for Chinese [*wa*].

There are facts recorded here and there which point to the possibility of setting up internal open juncture within phrases and other long utterances, but in the absence of first-hand information we are constrained to deal with the words as separate units and treat groups of words in terms of the usual approach based on meaning in translation.

2. 3. The important morphophonemic statements concern the so-called vowel harmony.

There are four principles: a) first-syllable front vowel is followed only by front vowels or the neutral vowel; b) first-syllable back vowel is followed only by back vowels or the neutral vowel; c) first-syllable mid vowels are followed by themselves or by double high vowels (respectively front or back), or by the neutral vowel; d) the neutral vowel may be followed by either front or back vowels, or by neutral vowels, but not by mid vowels.

These statements summarize the following phenomena:

	Vowel of first syllable	*Possible vowels in subsequent syllables*
a)	*e, ee, ey, ü, üü, üy*	*e, ee, ey, üü, üy, i, ii*
b)	*a, aa, ay, u, uu, uy*	*a, aa, ay, uu, uy, i, ii*
c)	*ö, öö*	*ö, öö, ey* [there is no *öy*], *üü, i, ii*
	o, oo, oy	*o, oo, oy, uu, i, ii*
d)	*i, ii*	*e, ee, ey, üü, üy, a, aa, ay, uu, uy, i, ii*

This system of vowel harmony establishes the nature of the vowels of all suffixes, these depending on the vowels of the stem (first syllable). A suffix with the neutral vowels *i* or *ii* has only one form; a suffix with non-high vowels (morphophonemic symbol N) appears with *e, ee, ey*, or *a*,

aa, ay, or *ö, öö, ey, o, oo, oy*; a suffix with high vowels (H) appears with *üü, üy, uu, uy.*

3. Only a few statements about morphology and syntax are pertinent to this paper.

The morphology of Mongolian proceeds almost entirely by suffixation, with a very few instances of stem change by morphophonemic alternation or by suppletion. A word consists of a stem, usually of two syllables, plus one or more suffixes. The addition of suffixes may be additive or multiplicative; that is, each succeeding suffix may simply add a new element to the structure, or at some point the new suffix modifies the whole of the preceding complex, treating it as a unit; the exact delimitation of these two phenomena is not always possible with the data available, and it may turn out that the difference is not essential.

In the conventional treatments Mongolian nouns are said to be declined for a number of cases, and verbs to be conjugated for tenses and many nonfinite forms. There are then said to be many derivational suffixes. We have concluded that it is probable that there is no advantage in sharply separating inflection and derivation, or in setting up parts of speech, declensions, and conjugations. What is needed is an examination of all the suffixes, a determination of the positions they may occupy in relation to the stem and to each other, and a statement of categories based on these positions. We have not made such an analysis as yet except in bare outline, and accordingly will designate such forms as occur by the conventional terms found in the sources used; such terms will be given in quotation marks the first time they occur, and thereafter will be used without apology.

3. 1. Stems without suffixes appear as the basic form of nominally used words, the so-called "nominative" of "nouns" and "adjectives."

There are certain terminal suffixes which may appear attached directly to such bare stems, and also to stems with suffixes treated as units; these terminal suffixes are the so-called "case endings," added to "primary" or "derived" nouns. Our chief concern is with those forms called "genitive" and "comitative."

Stems, whether primary or derived, ending in a short vowel or in a consonant other than *n* form the genitive with the suffix *-iin*; final short *i* of a stem disappears before the suffix; final double vowels, except *ii*, insert *g* before *iin*: *ulas* 'state, nation' — *ulasiin*, *aha* 'older brother' — *ahaiin*, *buluu* 'oak staff' — *buluugiin*. Stems ending in *ii* or in a diphthong (i. e., in *y*) add *n*: *dalay* 'sea' — *dalayn*, *delhi* 'the earth' — *delhiin*. Stems ending in *n* (which is often not present in the nominative) add *ii*: *modo* 'wood' (stem *modon-*) — *modonii*.

Nouns used attributively, the so-called adjectives, usually end in *n* if the non-attributive nominative ends in a vowel, and their stem is in *n*: *modo* 'wood' — *modon* 'wooden.' These forms we shall refer to as "attributive." There is undoubtedly some connection between the *n* of *iin*, the *n* used after diphthongs, and this attributive *n*.

The comitative is formed with the suffix *-tNy* (that is, *-tay, -tey, -toy*), before which attributive *n* is lost: *modo* — *modotoy* 'with wood, having wood.'

This comitative is one of the cases said to be capable of "double declension." That is, a word like *moritoy* 'having horses, one who has horses' (*mori, morin-*) may be "declined," giving genitive or attributive *moritoyn*, etc.

3. 2. Certain bare stems appear as the simple "imperatives" of "verbs," that is, predicating words.

There are suffixes for other imperatives, for "indicative present" (*-nN*), for "present perfect" (*-lNN*), for "past perfect" (*-jNy* or *-chNy*), for "completive" (*-bN*). Then there are the numerous "participles" and "gerunds." We may note the alternate form of the "present participle," ending in *n*: *yaba* 'go' — *yaban* 'going.' This seems likely to be identical with the attributive *n* mentioned above.

3. 3. The subject of a sentence or clause comes first; the nominative form is used with finite predicators, and the "accusative" with the "gerundial" forms.

The predicate always comes at the end of the sentence or clause. It consists of a finite verb, a combination of gerundial with a finite form, or a sequence of a so-called adjective and the verb *bay-* 'to be.'

4. We had about 4000 names with which to work. An examination of the cards embracing the letters A, B, Ch, D gave us about 1100 names (including identical names), in about 20 preliminary syntactic types. Checking against the end of the alphabet, T, U, Y, gave about 800 names in

the same types and in about the same proportions. We then added cards from the end of the letter S to get an even 2000, and our figures and percentages in the sequel are in terms of this representative sampling.

In the lists there are names consisting of one, two, three, and four words. The figures are: 228 or 11.4% with one word, 1204 or 60.2% with two words, 551 or 27.55% with three words, and 17 or 0.85% with four words. That these figures are not random is shown by the fact that of the first group of cards examined 59.9% were two-word names and of the second group 59.7% had two words.

4. 1. The 228 one-word names can be divided for convenience into those that have the comitative ending *-tNy* or its dialectal variant *-tN*, i. e., descriptive terms meaning 'having . . . ,' '. . . -ful,' and all others. The comitative forms number 73 (3.65% of the total number of names), 34 (1.7%) in *-tNy* and 39 (1.95%) in *-tN*. The others number 155 (7.75%); of these a few can be separated out as having the attributive *-n* suffix, that is, "adjectival" names (7 = 0.35%); the rest must be treated simply as nominal terms, some descriptive in meaning, others simply appellative.

4. 11. The names in *-tNy* are illustrated by the following examples (in this and subsequent sections the name is that of a village or town if not otherwise indicated; names including designating terms — 'mountain,' 'river,' etc. — are of features so designated unless otherwise stated; the geographical location by coordinates, and if outside Mongolia, is given following the analysis):

Boroohontoy 'rainyness-having' (*boroo* 'rain,' *-hon* "intensive" suffix); 44° 05′ N, 119° 10′ E (Manchuria).

Tarbagatay 'marmot-having' (*tarbaga*(*n*) 'marmot'); 46° 42′ N, 82° 57′ E (Sinkiang).

Tüüdetey 'bonfire-having' (*tüüdeg* 'bonfire'); 46° 50′ N, 111° 42′ E.

Ulyaasatay 'poplar-having' (*ulyaasa* 'poplar'): pass, 43° 03′ N, 85° 45′ E (China); villages, 43° 50′ N, 82° 15′ E (China), 43° 33′ N, 123° 13′ E (Manchuria); streams, 47° 15′ N, 85° 50′ E (China), 47° 25′ N, 96° 00′ E.

4. 12. Names in *-tN* are illustrated by the following:

Aralta 'island-having' (*aral* 'island'); mound, 48° 40′ N, 116° 00′ E (Manchuria).

Bayshinta 'building-having' (*bayshin*(*g*) 'building'); 43° 24′ N, 121° 45′ E (Manchuria).

Chuluuta 'stony' (*chuluu*(*n*) 'rock, stone'); 47° 30′ N, 100° 15′ E; river, 49° 04′ N, 110° 17′ E; stream, 49° 05′ N, 100° 15′ E; mountain, 50° 10′ N, 102° 15′ E.

Sümbete 'ramrod-having' (*sümbe* 'ramrod'); mountain, 45° 10′ N, 110° 00′ E.

Tarbagata 'marmot-having' — cf. Tarbagatay, § **4. 11**; river, 49° 50′ N, 107° 25′ E.

Tologoyto 'head-having' (*tologoy* 'head, hill'); mountain, 48° 00′ N, 106° 50′ E.

Yamaata 'goat-having' (*yamaa*(*n*) 'goat'); village, 48° N, 115° E; river, 48° 40′ N, 103° 35′ E.

4. 13. The forms in attributive *-n* are:

Altan 'golden' (*alta*(*n*) 'gold'); village, 48° 40′ N, 104° 20′ E; well, 45° 55′ N, 105° 36′ E.

Baruun 'right, west'; 48° 20′ N, 103° 20′ E; 36° 10′ N, 97° 20′ E (China).

Büdüün 'large'; river, 49° 35′ N, 107° 30′ E; village, 50° 05′ N, 105° 40′ E.

Dabasan 'salty' (*dabasa*(*n*) 'salt'); 47° 25′ N, 117° 10′ E.

Tsagaan 'white'; railroad station, 49° 15′ N, 118° 06′ E (Manchuria).

Ulaan 'red'; mountains, 49° 50′ N, 104° 00′ E.

The first two may be merely examples of an *n* of the literary language surviving in our sources. The last four are probably due to bad sources also, since normally there would be a designating term (Ulaan Uula 'red mountain') or some other further part of the name; furthermore, the modifying words in *-vvn* always seem to appear with *n*, and therefore probably do not belong in this special category.

4. 14. The non-specialized single word names are illustrated by:

Adzarga 'stallion'; pass, 50° 20′ N, 102° 45′ E.

Argal 'mountain sheep'; village, 44° 30′ N, 116° 35′ E (Inner Mongolia); mountain, 49° 20′ N, 106° 40′ E.

Arshaan 'mineral spring'; springs, 48° 55′ N, 107° 40′ E; 43° 18′ N, 89° 58′ E (China); 50° 40′ N, 100° 50′ E; village, 42° 45′ N, 83° 54′ E (Sinkiang).

Berhe 'difficult'; mountain, 48° 30′ N, 103° 50′ E.

Bügsey 'podex'; river, 49° 10′ N, 100° 10′E; the word also occurs as *bögsö*.

Bulan 'bend' (*bulang-*); 42° 43′ N, 109° 49′E.

Büride 'quagmire'; river, 48° 20′ N, 103° 00′ E.

Buur 'slope'; 45° 06′ N, 96° 19′ E.

Chindamani 'satisfaction of all desires'; 45° 20′ N, 98° 00′ E; the word also occurs as *chandamani*, and is so found in other place names.

Darhan 'master'; 43° 48′ N, 121° 05′ E (Manchuria).

Dariganga (a tribal or personal name); 45° 30′ N, 113° 40′ E.

Tögörig, 'circle'; villages, 46° N, 104° E; 42° 20′ N, 108° 15′ E (Inner Mongolia), 43° 33′ N, 109° 19′ E; 43° 02′ N, 111° 15′ E (Inner Mongolia); 43° 09′ N, 103° 55′ E (China); towns, 45° 43′ N, 104° 25′ E; 44° 10′, 103° 20′ E; mountain, 43° 15′ N, 109° 45′ E; well, 45° 13′ N, 105° 20′ E; region, 44° 10′ N, 103° 20′ E.

Törö 'government'; 48° N, 116° E.

Tsaydam 'salt marsh'; 43° 35′ N, 120° 22′ E (Manchuria); 43° 47′ N, 120° 55′ E (Manchuria); 42° 45′ N, 115° 55′ E (Inner Mongolia); 43° 19′ N, 122° 11′E (Manchuria); marsh, 45° 00′ N, 96° 50′ E.

Tsoboo 'clever'; mountain, 48° 05′ N, 105° 40′ E.

Tsorgo 'funnel'; river, 49° 10′ N, 96° 30′ E.

Üneged 'foxes' (a "plural" or collective, *ünege(n)* 'fox'); mountain, 44° 40′ N, 102° 05′ E.

Usa 'water'; well (perhaps not a name, but merely a designation), 43° 22′ N, 103° 29′ E (China).

Üyenchi 'ermine hunter' (*üyen(g)* 'ermine,' *-chi* suffix for persons occupied with a subject or performing an activity); 46° 03′ N, 92° 08′ E.

4. 2. The 1204 (60.2%) two-word names can be divided thus: 3 (0.15%) are possibly *dvandva*-compounds, 9 (0.45%) seem to be sentences (i. e., end in a predicating form), 605 (30.25%) consist of a morphologically marked modifier followed by another word, and the rest (587, 29.35%) are simple collocations, the first word being identifiable as the modifier from its meaning.

The 605 marked sequences divide thus: 194 (9.7%) have an attributive *n*-form as first member; 9 (0.45%) have a form in *-tNy*; 80 (4%) have a form in *-tN*; 62 (3.1%) have a form in *-tNyn* (genitive or *n*-form of the *-tNy* suffix); 260 (13%) have a genitive as first member.

4. 21. The three *dvanda* names are: Abaga Uan 'lord-prince' (a so-called residence of a feudal lord), occurring twice (encampment, 43° 40′ N, 115° 30′ E (Inner Mongolia); 43° 30′ N, 115° 35′ E), and Abaga Beese (a village or a residence), where *beese* is a term for another rank of feudal lord (43° 45′ N, 116° 10′ E). These may be simply modifier plus modified, of course.

4. 22. The sentence names are:

Adag Doloon 'river-mouth being-seven' (*doloo(n)* 'seven'); a well, 47° 20′ N, 117° 00′ E.

Arbay Tsagaan 'barley being-white'; 44° 40′ N, 117° 55′ E.

Arshaan Tsagaan 'mineral-spring being white'; river, 43° 42′ N, 83° 36′ E (China).

Bayan Tsagaan 'richness being white'; town, 46° 20′ N, 124° 00′ (Manchuria); lake, 48° 35′ N, 119° 45′ E (Manchuria); mountains, 48° 20′ N, 115° 15′ E; 45° 30′ N, 114° 25′ E; 47° 45′ N, 112° 20′ E; mountain ridge, 43° 25′ N, 98° 35′ E.

Bayan Ulaan 'richness being red'; region, 44° 40′ N, 103° 45′E.

Buha Dolon 'bull the-one-that-licks' (*dolo-* 'lick'); settlement, 44° 22′ N, 105° E; auto service station, 44° 25′ N, 105° 20′ E.

Tala Doloon 'meadow being-seven'; settlement, 44° 48′ N, 107° E.

Tala Gashuun 'meadow being-bitter'; mountain, 44° 00′ N, 102° 10′ E.

Usa Höndiilsen 'water having-been-hollowed out,' town, 47° 10′ N, 111° 20′ E,

In Mongolian *n*-forms in final position are predicating "adjectives," "past participles" and "present gerunds," and can be complete sentences. Some of the examples suggest, however, that our sources left out a third member, the first two being attributive to it.

4. 23. The translatable forms with first member in *-tNy* are:

Angirtay Nuur 'duck-having lake' (*angir* 'duck'); 49° 08′ N, 118° 32′ E (Manchuria).

Bulatay Süme 'wheel-having temple' (*bula* 'wheel'); village, 43° 27′ N, 120° 46′ E (Manchuria).

Burgaasatay Gol 'willow-having river' (*burgaasa* 'willow'); 45° 55′ N, 94° 15′ E.

Burgaasatay Tala 'willow-having meadow' (*tala* 'plain, field, mountain meadow'); mountains, 43° 44′ N, 105° 12′ E (China); valley, 43° 50′ N, 105° 00′ E.

Burhatay Oboo 'image-having cairn' (*burhan* 'holy image, divinity'); village, 45° 15′ N, 118° 30′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Tömörtey Uula 'iron-having mountain' (*tömör* 'iron'); 46° 45′ N, 102° 05′ E.

Tooroytoy Hiid 'poplar-having monastery' (*tooroy* 'Populus euphratica'); well, 41° 57′ N, 99° 26′ E (China).

Ulyaasatay Tsagaan 'poplar-having white [one]' (*ulyaasa* 'poplar, aspen'); pass, 43° 03′ N, 86° 37′ E (China). This name has as last member a predicating form of the kind discussed in § **4. 22.**

Üretey Hudag 'prolific well' (*üre* 'grain, seed, kernel'); village, 47° 05′ N, 118° 00′ E.

All these forms are syntactically regular collocations of a comitative modifier with a word denoting the thing modified. But, if our source material is correct, they are much less common than the forms with the variant *-tN*, which is perhaps specialized for such "adjectival" use, or than the forms in *-tNyn*, where the attributive *n* definitively characterizes the form as a modifier.

4. 24. Examples of forms with *-tN* are:

Achita Nuur 'beneficial lake' (*achi* 'benefit, use'); 49° 30′ N, 90° 42′ E.

Altata Gol 'golden river' (*alta(n)* 'gold'); 49° 10′ N, 103° E; 49° 20′ N, 103° 05′ E.

Bulashita Öndör 'grave-having height' (*bulashi* 'grave, tomb, place for setting out the dead'); mountain, 48° 50′ N, 115° 32′ E.

Buyanta Gol 'happy river' (*buyan* 'good deed'); 47° 55′ N, 90° 45′ E; 47° 10′ N, 97° 40′ E; 48° 00′ N, 91° 45′ E.

Chonoto Uula 'wolf-having mountain' (*chono* 'wolf'); hills, 49° 35′N, 116° 02′ E.

Dabasata Nuur 'salty lake' (*dabasa(n)* 'salt'); 46° 20′ N, 104° 10′ E.

Duganta Jisa 'shrine-having religious-community' (*dugan* 'shrine'); monastery, 45° 50′ N, 105° 30′ E.

Sürte Hudag 'majestic well' (*sür* 'majesty'); 44° 05′N, 103° 55′ E.

Talata Oboo 'flat cairn' (*tala* 'flat place'); mound, 45° 35′ N, 105° 20′ E.

Tosoto Uula 'buttery mountain' (*toso(n)* 'butter, oil'); 43° 10′ N, 100° 30′ E.

Tsabata Nuur 'crevice-having lake' (*tsaba* 'crevice'); 47° 00′ N, 117° 20′ E.

Üherte Nuur 'cattle-having lake' (*üher* '[horned] cattle'); 49° 15′ N, 116° 45′ E (Manchuria); 49° 10′ N, 116° 25′ E (Manchuria).

Ünegete Uula 'fox-having mountain'; 44° 50′ N, 107° 05′ E.

4. 25. Some names in *-tNyn* are:

Agatayn Hiid 'lady-having one's temple' (*aga* 'lady'); monastery, 46° 35′ N, 108° 40′ E. The translation of these forms is arbitrary; they seem to be merely attributives, although in some cases a form in *-tNy* may exist as a "noun" of independent meaning.

Altayn Nuruu 'Altai mountains' (*altay* 'mountainous country, upland valley,' *nuruu* 'mountain range'); mountain range, 45° 25′ N, 97° 25′ E; 46° 50′ N, 92° 00′ E.

Bichigteyn Hötöl 'having-writings low-pass' (*bichig* 'writing, document'; *hötöl* 'saddle of a ridge'); pass, 47° 05′ N, 105° 20′ E.

Büürgeteyn Uula 'saddle-bowed mountain'; 47° 40′ N, 91° 05′ E.

Daltayn Hiid 'storehouse-having monastery'; 47° 50′ N, 112° 20′ E.

Dolootoyn Hural 'sevenfold's enclosure' (*doloo(n)* 'seven'); temple, 47° 45′ N, 105° 05′ E.

Dundatayn Gol 'middleness-having river' (*dunda* or *dumda* 'middle'); 48° 45′ N, 103° 45′ E.

Sürteyn Dabaa 'majestic pass'; 48° 50′ N, 97° 00′ E.

Tödögteyn Suma 'bolt-having village-center' (*tödög* 'bolt, bar'); village, 46° 45′ N, 111° 15′ E.

Togootoyn Shüteen 'kettle-having sanctity' (*togoo* 'kettle'); temple, 47° 05′ N, 110° 45′ E.

Tölögönteyn Oboo '2-year-old-lamb-having cairn' (*tölögön* '2-year old lamb'); mound, 48° 55′ N, 116° 45′ E.

Tosotoyn Hudag 'oily well'; 45° 25′ N, 111° 17′ E.

Üherteyn Nuur 'cattle-having lake'; 49° 05′ N, 114° 55′ E. Cf. Üherte Nuur, § **4. 24.**

4. 26. Names with first-member *n*-form include those where the *n*-form is based on a form without *n*, and also those with adjectives like *ulaan*, *tsagaan*, which always have *n*. Names with *ulaan* and *tsagaan* are very numerous in Mongolia. Examples of names with *n*-forms are:

Altan Bulag 'golden spring' (*alta(n)* 'gold'); this town is widely known by its Chinese name, Mai-mai-ch'eng, and is opposite the Russian town of Kyakhta, at 50° 18′ N, 106° 30′ E.

Altan Tsögötsö 'golden cup'; 48° 50′ N, 90° 38′ E.

Arban Modo 'ten trees' (*arba(n)* 'ten,' *modo(n)*

'wood, tree'); 43° 77′ N, 121° 43′ E (Manchuria); 43° 36′N, 121° 40′ E.

Bahan Uula 'toad mountain' (*baha*(*n*) 'toad'); 45° 05′ N, 107° 55′ E.

Bosogon Bulag 'rapids spring' (*bosogo*(*n*) 'rapids'); 46° 38′ N, 103° 10′ E.

Deresen Hudag 'feather-grass well' (*derese*(*n*) 'feather-grass'); 44° 28′N, 103° 50′ E.

Doloon Hara 'seven black [ones]' (*doloo*(*n*) 'seven'); mountain range, 47° 17′ N, 104° 43′ E.

Dulaan Hira 'warm hilly-country'; mountain, 45° 05′ N, 103° 05′ E; 47° 40′ N, 98° 24′ E.

Tooson Samar 'dusty nut' (*tooso*(*n*) 'dust'); mountain, 48° 20′ N, 104° 35′ E.

Toson Tsengel 'buttery joy'; 48° 55′ N, 99° 00′ E.

Tsagaan Tümen 'white multitude'; 44° 55′ N, 124° 35′ E (Manchuria).

Tsagaan Tünhe 'white watercovered-ground'; 45° 50′ N, 91° 46′ E.

Ulaan Baatar 'red hero'; the capital of Mongolia, Ulanbator, formerly Urga, 47° 55′ N, 106° 53′ E; the name is also given as Ulaan Baatar Hoto 'red hero town,' a three-word form of the type dealt with in § **4. 321.**

Ulaan Modo 'red wood'; village, 42° 21′ N, 121° 19′ E (Manchuria).

Ulaan Shiree 'red table'; village, 42° 32′ N, 121° 43′ E (Manchuria).

Ulaan Tayga 'red forest' (*tayga* 'forest, taiga'); mountain range, 50° 45′ N, 98° 30′ E.

Urtan Gol 'long river' (*urta* 'length'); well, 44° 50′ N, 97° 44′ E.

Usan Yihe 'watery bigness (*usa* 'water'); village, 44° 25′ N, 119° 30′ E (Manchuria).

4. 27. A sampling of the numerous names with first-member genitive is:

Bayangiin Shanda 'richness's source' (*bayan* 'rich,' here treated as a stem in *-ng-*); well, 44° 30′ N, 110° 05′ E.

Beeseiin Hiid 'prince's monastery' (*beese* 'prince of third degree'); temple, 47° 20′ N, 101° 15′ E.

Bodonchiin Gol 'boarhunter's river' (*bodon*(*g*) 'boar,' *-chi* suffix of occupation treated as a stem in a vowel instead of as an *n*-stem—which would give *-chinii*; such variations in "inflection" are common); 45° 55′ N, 92° 25′ E.

Dalayn Hooloy 'sea's ravine' (*dalay* 'sea'); region, 44° 30′ N, 110° 10′ E.

Darhadiin Hüryee 'masters' monastery' (*darhad* "plural" of *darhan* 'master'); 51° 10′ N, 99° 50′ E; village, 51° 05′ N, 99° 35′ E.

Döchiin Hural 'forty's enclosure' (*döchi* '40'); monastery, 44° 03′ N, 106° 30′ E; temple, 44° 05′ N, 106° 25′ E.

Sümeiin Bulag 'temple's well' (*süme* 'temple'); town, 49° 10′ N, 115° 00′ E; spring, 49° 10′ N, 114° 55′ E.

Tayjinii Ayl 'nobleman's village' (*tayji*(*n*) 'nobleman'); 45° 50′ N, 119° 10′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Töbögönii Ayl 'commotion's village' (*töbögö*(*n*) 'commotion'); 44° 55′ N, 116° 05′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Togtohoiin Shili 'stability's ridge' (*togtoho* 'stability'); 49° 40′ N, 92° 40′ E.

Tsaydamiin Nuur 'saltmarsh's lake' (*tsaydam* 'saltmarsh'); 47° 50′ N, 102° 40′ E; 40° 28′ N, 109° 36′ E (China).

Tsenheriin Dugan 'blueness's shrine' (*tsenher* 'light blue'); village, 47° 55′ N, 109° 05′ E.

Tsohyoonii Hudag 'rocky-elevation's well' (*tsohyoo*(*n*) 'rocky elevation'); well, 45° 00′ N, 109° 20′ E.

Tüshigiin Hooloy 'bulwark's valley' (*tüshig* 'bulwark'); village, 47° N, 95° E.

Ulasiin Hudag 'people's well' (*ulas* 'people'); 45° 30′ N, 111° 56′ E.

Uulaiin Dabaa 'mountain's pass' (*uula* 'mountain'); 47° 05′ N, 95° 15′ E.

Uutaiin Gol 'sack's river' (*uuta* 'sack'); 46° 30′ N, 99° 20′ E.

Yargayn Hudag 'honeysuckle's well' (*yargay* 'honeysuckle'); 44° 55′ N, 109° 06′ E.

Yiheiin Shanda 'bigness's spring' (*yihe* 'big [-ness]'); 46° 20′ N, 111° 38′ E.

4. 28. A sampling of names consisting of a simple collocation of two words follows. Many of them involve the same first elements as have already been found, but this time without morphologically marked subordination. Since we have not heard Mongolian spoken, we cannot tell whether these collocations are simply sequences of words or whether they have some accentual or junctural characteristics which might make possible their classification as compounds.

Aji Bogdo 'labor divinity'; mountain range, 45° N, 95° E.

Ara Hoboo 'north [= rear] channel'; village, 43° 22′ N, 121° 52′ E.

Ara Usa 'north water'; well, 44° 50′ N, 114° 35′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Argal Uula 'dung-brick mountain'; 47° 00′ N, 105° 35′ E.

Ayrig Nuur 'bitter lake'; 48° 51′ N, 93° 35′ E.

Baatar Hayrhan 'hero preciousness'; mountain ridge, 47° 00′ N, 92° 30′ E.

Baga Bogdo 'little divinity'; mountain, 43° 20′ N, 97° 30′ E; 43° 10′ N, 97° E.

Baruun Sayhan 'west [= right] beauty'; mountains, 43° 40′ N, 103° 20′ E (China).

Bata Öldzey 'strong happiness'; mountain, 47° 00′ N, 102° 00′ E. With this compare Bata Öldzeyte 'strong happy'; temple, 43° 05′ N, 110° 20′ E.

Bayan Bulag 'rich well'; a frequently recurring name for wells and villages: 43° 30′ N, 114° 45′ E; 42° 40′ N, 110° 00′ E; 42° 50′ N, 112° 55′ E (Inner Mongolia); 47° 25′ N, 108° 35′ E; 46° 05′ N, 112° 52′ E; 47° 55′ N, 109° 55′ E; 44° 08′ N, 99° 25′ E; 42° 40′ N, 104° 56′ E (China).

Bayshin Süme 'edifice temple'; village, 47° 42′ N, 118° 26′ E; 47° 50′ N, 118° 30′ E.

Böörö Hudag 'kidney well'; village, 43° 40′ N, 100° 40′E.

Boro Burgaasa 'grey willow'; river, 48° N, 90° 10′ E.

Chindamani Oboo 'satisfaction-of-all-desires mound'; hill, 460° 10′ N, 112° 25′ E.

Daa Noyon 'great prince'; nomad camp, 50° 00′ N, 101° 00′ E.

Dalay Hudag 'sea wall'; village, 43° 06′ N, 105° 18′ E (China).

Dari Oboo 'gunpowder cairn'; mound, 45° 20′N, 113° 45′ E.

Dayn Gol 'war river'; lake, 48° 20′ N, 88° 50′ E.

Deede Orhon 'upper Orhon'; village, 49° 56′ N, 104° 55′ E; the name Orhon, a river, is meaningless in Mongolian.

Delger Haan 'great khan'; village, 47° 11′ N, 109° 00′ E; mountain, 48° 15′ N, 109° 15′ E; mountain, 46° 40′ N, 104° 00′ E.

Süseg Ayl 'devotion village'; 44° 40′ N, 119° 55′ E.

Temeen Tologoy 'camel hill'; village, 43° 00′ N, 115° 15′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Tengri Nuur 'heaven lake'; 42° 36′ N, 110° 47′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Toli Bulag 'mirror spring'; spring, 45° 55′ N, 94° 25′ E; 43° 23′ N, 99° 08′ E.

Tooso Modo 'dust wood'; village, 43° 24′ N, 125° 55′ E (Manchuria).

Üdzem Hudag 'grape well'; 47° 40′ N, 118° 00′ E.

Uhaa Chuluutay 'long-hill rock-having'; mountain, 47° 40′ N, 101° 00′ E. This name may very well be incorrectly recorded for Uhaa Chuluutay Uula, in which case the syntax would be perfectly regular.

Uula Hudag 'mountain well'; 44° 45′ N, 114° 20′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Uuldza Gol 'visible river'; 49° 05′ N, 112° 30′ E; 49° 40′ N, 114° 50′ E.

Yihe Bogdo 'great divinity'; mountains, 45° 00′ N, 100° 10′ E.

Yihe Modoto 'great woody'; mountain, 48° 10′ N, 111° 10′ E. Perhaps this name too should have a third member.

4. 3. The 551 (27.55%) three-word names are treated under the following subdivisions: those in which the first two elements both have a morphological marker of subordination, those in which only the first element is marked, those in which only the second element is marked, and finally those in which none of the three elements is marked. Using a capital S for the marked (substantival) element and a lower-case s for the unmarked, we have the following formulas and figures: SSs, 106 = 5.3%; Sss, 130 = 6.5%; sSs, 143 = 7.15%; sss, 172 = 8.6%.

Each of the marked types can be subdivided by the kind of morphological element found; forms like *ulaan* 'red' will be symbolized by (vvn), forms with the comitative endings will be symbolized by (tN), (tNy), (tNyn); the *n*-attributives will be shown as (n), and all genitives are marked (G). The figures are:

S(vvn)Ss,	66 = 3.3%:	S(vnn)S(tN)s	7 = 0.35%
		S(tNy)	1 = 0.05
		S(tNyn)	10 = 0.50
		S(n)	11 = 0.55
		S(G)	37 = 1.85
S(tN)Ss,	4 = 0.2%:	S(tN)S(vvn)s	1 = 0.05
		S(G)	3 = 0.15
S(tNyn)Ss,	5 = 0.25%:	S(tNyn)S(vvn)s	2 = 0.1
		S(n)	1 = 0.05
		S(G)	2 = 0.1
S(n)Ss,	11 = 0.55%:	S(n)S(tNyn)s	2 = 0.1
		S(G)	9 = 0.45
S(G)Ss,	20 = 1%:	S(G)S(vvn)s	10 = 0.5
		S(tNyn)	2 = 0.1
		S(G)	8 = 0.4

S(vvn)ss,	62 = 3.1%
S(tN)ss	6 = 0.3
S(tNy)ss	1 = 0.05
S(tNyn)ss	3 = 0.15
S(n)ss	24 = 1.2
S(G)ss	34 = 1.7
sS(vvn)s,	24 = 1.2%
sS(tN)s	18 = 0.9
sS(tNyn)s	10 = 0.5
sS(n)s	9 = 0.45
sS(G)s	82 = 4.1

In the SSs type, the structure is, on the basis of translation meaning, either the first element modifying the other two as a whole, the second being a modifier of the last, i. e., S(Ss), or else the second depends on the first and the two together modify the last, (SS)s. But it would be difficult to substantiate each particular analysis except on the basis of meaning, and syntactically, in terms of Mongolian structure we have the last element modified by the preceding, itself modified by the first.

In the Sss type, the syntax is clearly that of modifier plus two-part modified element, this latter having perhaps the status of a compound.

In the sSs type, we have a two-part modifier (possibly a compound) plus a one-part modified element.

The sss type are possibly to be considered as three-part compounds. In meaning they may be s(ss) or (ss)s, or even s(s(s)) or (s(s))s. That is, so far as meaning goes, many are exact parallels of the SSs, Sss, or sSs types.

4. 31. We take up first the subdivisions of the SSs type.

4. 311. Names of the form S(vvn)Ss have *ulaan* 'red,' *baruun* 'west,' or *tsagaan* 'white' as the first element. As these words always appear in the same form, we could deal with these names under the heading sSs.

Examples with various kinds of second elements are:

Ulaan Shoroto Hudag 'red fork-having well' (*shoro* 'fork'); 47° 05′ N, 116° 35′ E.

Ulaan Shabartay Dabaa 'red muddy pass' (*shabar* 'mud'); mountain range, 48° 45′ N, 107° 15′ E. It is clear that whether one translates this as 'pass having red mud' or 'muddy pass that is red' is, of course, a matter of extra-linguistic interpretation.

Tsagaan Galuutayn Shanda 'white goose-having source' (*galun* 'goose'); well, 43° 37′ N, 106° 10′E. The presence of the final *n* of the second element might indicate that one should translate

'source of the one who has white geese.' But the name Baruun Manhatayn Bulag 'west sandhill-having spring' (*manha* 'sandhill'; a stream, 48° 40′ N, 110° 45′ E) could just as well be 'western spring characterized by sandhills' as 'spring having the western sandhill' or 'spring of the one who has a western sandhill.' Until we can give full data on Mongolian syntax in relation to extralinguistic facts, it is useless to speculate as to which possibility is to be preferred.

Tsagaan Hüryeen Süme 'white shrine-y temple' (*hüryee* 'shrine'); shrine, 42° 25′ N, 113° 35′ E.

Tsagaan Üüden Tala 'white gate's plain' (*üüde* 'gate'); region, 45° 55′ N, 109° 45′ E.

Ulaan Üdzüüriin Uula 'red summit's mountain' (*üdzüür* 'sumit'); 45° 55′ N, 98° 25′ E.

Ulaan Hadaiin Hushuu 'red rock's banner' (*hada* 'rock'); region, 45° 20′ N, 110° 15′ E.

Tsagaan Usandi Örtöö 'white water's post-station' (usa 'water'); encampment, 47° 35′ N, 115° 25′ E; 47° 40′ N, 115° 25′ E.

4. 312. Names of the form S(tN)Ss are:

Buyanta Tsagaan Gol 'happpy white river' (*buyan* 'happiness'); village, 46° 16′ N, 98° 15′ E; also referred to by a four-part name, Buyanta Tsagaan Gol Suma, which may be analyzed by meaning as (SSs)s.

Buyanta Goliin Hüryee 'happy river's shrine' (*gol* 'river'); temple, 46° 15′ N, 93° 20′ E.

4. 313. Names of the form S(tNyn)Ss are:

Asahatayn Suurin Hiid 'dispensing establishment monastery' (*asaha-* 'to pour,' *suuri* 'seat, base'); 48° 40′ N, 111° 10′ E.

Bilüüteyn Goliin Hiid 'whetstone-having river's monastery' (*bilüü* 'whetstone'); temple, 47° 05′N, 98° 15′ E.

4. 314. Names of the type S(n)Ss are:

Deresen Hashaatayn Hiid 'feather-grass enclosed-one's monastery' (*derese* 'feather-grass,' *hashaa* 'enclosure'); 46° 50′ N, 113° 40′ E.

Usan Hötöliin Uula 'watery low-pass mountain' (*usa* 'water,' *hötöl* 'low pass'); 45° 50′ N, 93° 50′ E.

Chuluun Deliin Tögörig 'rocky peak's circle' (*chuluu* 'rock,' *del* 'pointed peak'); well, 44° 05′ N, 111° 37′ E.

4. 315. Names with genitives in first position (formula S(G)Ss) are:

Adagiin Tsagaan Nuur 'river-mouth's white well' (*adag* 'river mouth').

Turagiin Ulaan Nuur 'bigness's red lake' (*turag* 'big, bigness'); 45° 20′, 108° 45′ E.

Bulangiin Yamaatayn Hudag 'corner's goat-having one's well' (*bulan* 'corner,' *yamaa* 'goat'); 47° 05′ N, 116° 10′ E.

Amaiin Usanii Hudag 'river-mouth's water's well' (*ama* river-mouth [synonymous with *adag*], *usa* 'water'); 46° 20′ N, 103° 00′ E. At another location (46° 45′ N, 115° 25′ E) the same name occurs as Amanii Usanii Hudag, i. e., with *ama* as an *n*-stem.

Talaiin Hoboriin Bulag 'meadow's scanty-one's well' (*tala* 'field, meadow,' *hobor* 'scanty'); spring, 43° 29′ N, 101° 39′ E.

4. 32. The forms under Sss are now presented.

4. 321. The names having the formula S(vvn)ss are numerous, but only *tsagaan* 'white,' *baruun* 'west,' *dulaan* 'warm,' and *ulaan* 'red' occur as first members. The example Tsagaan Shara Hulasa 'white yellow reed' (a village, 42° 32′ N, 100° 49′ E) will serve to illustrate the group.

4. 322. Names of the forms S(tN)ss, S(tNy)ss, and S(tNyn)ss are:

Tsasata Bogdo Uula 'snow-covered holy mountain' (*tsasa(n)* 'snow'); 46° 40′ N, 93° 35′ E.

Dabasata Uula Suma 'salty mountain village-center' (*dabasa(n)* 'salt'); 50° 40′ N, 92° 30′ E.

Belegtey Dorji Guun 'gift-having jewel deep-well' (*beleg* 'gift'); encampment, 46° 19′ N, 103° 42′ E.

Taryaatayn Otog Hural 'grain-having one's tribe temple' (*taryaa* 'grain'); 47° 40′ N, 103° 50′ E.

4. 323. Names of the form S(n)ss are:

Altan Tsetseg Nuur 'golden flower lake'; 48° 40′ N, 101° 10′ E.

Taban Bogdo Uula 'five sacred mountain'; 49° 00′ N, 87° 45′ E.

Türgen Gol Suma 'fast river village-center'; 49° 55′ N, 91° 10′ E.

We may include here the name Dolood Usa Hudag 'sevens water well' (45° 26′N, 107° 49′ E), where *dolood* is a "plural" of *doloo(n)* 'seven.'

4. 324. Names of the form S(G)ss are:

Uulaiin Hara Oboo 'mountain's black mound'; 46° 35′ N, 105° 05′ E.

Usanii Tologoy Hudag 'water's head [= hill] well'; 46° 20′ N, 114° 25′ E.

Toyrimiin Guun Hudag 'salt-marsh's hollow well'; 42° 10′ N, 103° 57′ E.

Tahiin Shara Nuruu 'wild-horse's yellow mountain-range' (*tahi* 'wild horse'; 45° 00′ N, 93° 00′ E.

Baraiin Tayga Uula 'tiger's taiga mountain'; village, 44° 40′ N, 119° 40′ E (Manchuria).

4. 33. The names of the third type, sSs, are next exemplified.

4. 331. Names with the formula sS(vvn)s all contain as the second element *dulaan* 'warm,' *ulaan* 'red,' *tsagaan* 'white,' or *gashuun* 'bitter.' Bosogo Tsagaan Usa 'rapids white water' (well, 42° 35′ N, 108° 25′ E) will serve as an illustration.

4. 332. Forms in sS(tN)s are:

Ara Jirgalanta Suma 'north-slope beatitudinous village-center' (*jirgalan*(*g*) 'beatitude'); 46° 55′ N, 115° 05′ E; 47° 10′ N, 114° 48′ E.

Amar Bayasahalanta Hiid 'gentle joyousnessful temple' (*bayasahalan*(*g*) 'joyousness'); monastery, 49° 30′ N, 105° 08′ E.

Yihe Mohooto Uula 'great blunt mountain' (*mohoo* 'bluntness'); 47° 50′ N, 102° 35′ E.

4. 333. Names of the form sS(tNyn)s are:

Yihe Jirgalantayn Hudag 'great beatitudinous one's well' (*jirgalan*(*g*) 'beatitude'); 46° 15′N, 111° 37′ E.

Delger Öldzeyteyn Jisa 'extended happy one's shrine' (*öldzey* 'happpiness'); 46° 42′ N, 106° 49′ E.

Alag Moritoyn Hudag 'spotted horseman's well' (*mori* 'horse,' *moritoy* 'one who has a horse'); 44° 50′ N, 113° 27′ E.

4. 334. Names of the form sS(n)s are:

Suma Talan Gol 'village-center meadowy river' (*tala* 'field'); village, 43° 35′ N, 120° 29′ E (Manchuria).

Dibotsog Eligen Hudag 'mound liver's well' (*elige*(*n*) 'liver'); 44° 25′ N, 108° 45′ E.

4. 335. The many names of the form sS(G)s are illustrated by the following:

Baga Deresenii Hudag 'little feather-grass's well' (*derese*(*n*) 'feather-grass'); 46° 25′ N, 106° 55′ E.

Ara Gobiin Höndüy 'north desert's valley' (*gobi* 'desert, the Gobi'; *höndüy* is also recorded as *höndii* and *höndey*); region, 45° 55′ N, 112° 05′ E.

Bayan Uulaiin Oboo 'rich mountain's mound'; 47° 50′ N, 113° 00′ E.

Boro Öndöriin Hiid 'grey height's monastery'; 47° 40′ N, 109° 05′ E.

Darhan Guunii Hüryee 'master cavity's temple'; 46° 40′ N, 100° 20′ E.

Dashi Dorjiin Datsan 'benefaction jewel's monastery' (*dorji* 'jewel'); 46° 10′ N, 95° 30′ E.

Yihe Gadzariin Chuluu 'great place's rock' (*gadzar* 'place, country, land'); mountains, 46° 08′ N, 107° 20′ E.

4. 34. A sampling of names of the type sss will conclude our presentation. The variety of first elements is not great, the terms *yihe* 'great,' *baga* 'small,' *bayan* 'rich' being frequent.

Baatar Uan Hüryee 'hero prince monastery'; 49° 25′ N, 102° 30′ E.

Baga Bayan Süüji 'small rich shinbone [-shaped hill]'; mountain, 45° 10′ N, 108° E.

Baga Dalay Nuur 'little sea lake'; 50° 00′ N, 114° 25′ E.

Bata Tsengel Uula 'strong joy mountain'; 48° 00′ N, 101° 50′ E.

Bayan Dzürhe Suma 'rich heart village-center'; 46° 20′ N, 101° 00′ E; 47° 50′ N, 107° 10′ E.

Boro Oboo Hudag 'grey mound well'; 42° 40′ N, 102° 54′ E.

Boro Shaadzagay Hudag 'grey magpie well'; 48° 10′ N, 116° 10′ E (Manchuria).

Bös Hara Oboo 'fabric black mound'; hill, 46° 40′ N, 112° 40′E.

Bühey Mörön Gol 'whole large-river river'; 49° 33′ N, 90° 25′ E.

Dalay Sayn Shanda 'sea good source'; district center, 44° 52′ N, 110° 09′ E.

Darhan Haan Suma 'master khan village-center'; 47° N, 114° E.

Duguy Shara Nuur 'arc yellow lake'; 45° 45′ N, 107° 30′ E.

Üdzüür Usa Hudag 'summit water well'; 44° 10′ N, 99° 46′ E; 44° 05′ N, 108° 50′ E.

Üüle Ügey Hiid 'cloud lack monastery' (*ügey* is conventionally said to be the "negative" or "privative" adverb, and it is probably true that *üüle ügey* is spoken as a close compound, and means 'cloudless'); 43° 35′ N, 108° 10′ E.

4. 4. The four-part names add nothing to the types already noted. We shall list one of every type found, and the translation will make the analysis obvious.

Adagiin Ulaan Öndör Oboo 'river-mouth's red hill mound'; hill; 47° 35′ N, 110° 36′ E.

Baruun Abaga Dzasag Uan 'west lord government prince'; encampment, 43° 50′ N, 114° 40′ E (Inner Mongolia).

Baruun Bayan Ulaan Suma 'west rich red village-center'; town, 45° 30′ N, 101° 44′ E.

Bayan Mönhöiin Salbar Horshoo 'rich eternity's crossroads union'; settlement, 46° 45′ N, 109° 50′ E.

Bayan Mönhöiin Shandaiin Örtöö 'rich eternity's source's post-station'; settlement, 47° 25′ N, 110° 40′ E.

Boroiin Höndeyn Shandaiin Hudag 'grey's wide-valley's source's well'; 45° 58′ N, 113° 40′ E.

Delger Tsogtoyn Dugantayn Hiid 'extended magnificence-having one's shrine-having one's monastery'; 45° 49′ N, 105° 32′ E.

Dunda Taba Höshöö Süme 'middle five mounds temple'; 48° 05′ N, 115° 40′ E (Manchuria).

HOW BAAL DESTROYED A RIVAL

A Mythological Incantation Scene

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1. *Ground for Re-examination*

ONE OF THE SERIES of mythological narratives discovered at Ras Shamra has been known until recently by a single fragment (*A*) of the tablet (*3AB*) on which the particular narrative was inscribed. Since the fragment represents only a part of one column, while the tablet must be seen to have consisted of at least four columns, the material it offers amounts to less than a quarter of the original composition. How much less is a question that cannot be determined at present.[1]

Nevertheless, attempts have been made to interpret the fragment and, to some extent, these attempts have been facilitated by the favorable epigraphic condition in which the fragment was found. The cuneiform writing impressed upon it appeared, for the most part, in so excellent a state of preservation and its text seemed so graphic and lucid, in a lexical as well as stylistic respect—a situation altogether unusual in Ugaritic—that, on the whole, scholars did succeed in arriving at a workable understanding of the main and central portion of the fragment.[2] It proved to contain a scene of extraordinary conciseness and vividness, and complete from beginning to end, describing how the artisan-god Hayin provided Baal with a "staff" with which to attack an enemy named "Prince Sea," also "Chieftain River," upon whose destruction, it is clearly indicated, Baal would obtain "kingdom eternal," "reign for ever and ever."

In detail, however, the interpretations hitherto advanced must be said to have left much to be desired. What the scene actually signifies or implies has remained something of a puzzle. For, to the extent to which the fragment is preserved, it does not indicate what the nature of the enmity between Baal and Prince Sea was, why the supremacy of the former should have depended upon the annihilation of the latter, and just why the artisan-god Hayin—who is referred to in our fragment as *ktr w xss*, "the Skillful and Discerning one," or simply *ktr*, "the Skillful one"—should have felt prompted to enter the conflict at all and enter it on the side of Baal. In short, as long as our fragment remained the sole witness to the poetical narrative of which it had formed a

[1] For the text of the fragment, see Ch. Virolleaud, "La révolte de Košer contre Baal," *Syria*, 16 (1935), pp. 30-32, and Pl. XI; one gains the impression that Virolleaud's unqualified statement (p. 29) to the effect that the tablet consisted of four columns was based on the fact that the lines of writing here are much longer than in tablets of six or eight columns (*ibid.*, n. 1); on the presumable position and proportion of the fragment within the column, see below n. 3.

[2] See H. L. Ginsberg, *The Ugarit Texts* (Hebrew), 74 f.; H. L. Gordon, "The Poetic Literature of Ugarit," *Orientalia*, 12 (1943), 49 ff.

part—and this, as we have seen, a relatively small part—so that nothing could be said about the larger context in which the scene was told, all questions concerning its exact meaning and implications had to remain in the realm of sheer conjecture.

Of late, however, another bit of mythological narrative has become available which, to judge by all appearances, represents a fragment of the same tablet as that of the scene under discussion and, accordingly, has been designated as *3AB C*.[3] As it happens, the new fragment is badly preserved and much of its reading depends on more or less plausible restorations; yet the light it sheds on our scene is such as to enable us to discern its intrinsic purport with all the clarity that could be desired.

The crucial point is that we know now, by the evidence from the new fragment, that the narrator of *3AB*—or, at any rate, the narrator of a closely related tablet—told how the supreme god El had ordered Hayin to build a house for Prince Sea.[4] Indeed, from a variety of circumstances we are all but forced to infer that the house was to be erected on Mt. Ṣapon, the domain of Baal.[5] Thus we would at once understand the nature of the enmity, as well as that of the alliance, implied in our scene. For elsewhere in Ugaritic folklore it is Baal's great ambition to have Hayin, the divine master-craftsman residing in Egypt, build him a magnificent house on Mt. Ṣapon, while Hayin allies himself with that ambition and, in the end, does build him there a house of gold and silver and lapis lazuli.[6]

In the scene before us, therefore, the dramatic action would simply present itself as a consequence of El's démarche which, in its implications, threatened to divert the services of the Hephaistos from Baal to the favor of Prince Sea.[7] That is to say, in providing him with a staff with which to destroy Prince Sea, Hayin helps Baal to eliminate a rival of his cherished ambition, a pretender to the imposing house, and, in all probability, also a usurper of his domain. In short, our scene may now be understood as one of the numerous conniving episodes and intrigues centered around what seems to have formed the main theme of Ugaritic mythology, that is, the theme of the building saga.[8]

A new appraisal of the scene and a revised translation of the text would have appeared imperative on yet another ground. Those who have studied the fragment have been struck by the fact that we deal here with a scene in which the dramatic action is told twice: twice the Skillful one fashions a staff, twice he recites an invocation over it, designating the staff as a weapon, the instrument of the forthcoming attack, and twice Baal assails Prince Sea. Nothing, however, has been suggested to account for this remarkable procedure or to define the nature of the repetition, especially striking within a scene told with great verbal

[3] The designation *3AB B* has been reserved by Virolleaud for the fragment, as yet unpublished, that is contained on the obverse(?) of *3AB A*; see his "Fragments mythologiques de Ras-Shamra:" "Le dieu ʿAštar (III *AB, C*)," *Syria*, 24 (1944-45), 1 ff. Reversing his previous opinion that *A* formed "le début de la col. I," Virolleaud now maintains that the *A* fragment occupied all but the top of col. 4 ("approximativement: la 1re moitié"), while *C* represented part of the lower half of col. 3. This is very fortunate indeed, since our scene appears to point to matter that was related earlier in the tablet (cf. below, notes 10 and 14). As regards the testimony of the new fragment, we are all but forced to realize that it was of necessity told in the tablet at a point prior to the scene before us—or else we deal here with fragments representing two different narratives of topical interdependence, comparable to the interdependence between *2AB* and *5AB*. Apparently, however, the criterion of contents did not enter V.'s estimate of the relative position of the fragments; in fact, his interpretation of our scene is such that he has been led to remark (*op. cit.*, n. 1) "Entre l'épisode *C* et celui qui est narré en *A*, il n'y a d'ailleurs aucun lien apparent."

[4] Cf. *Syria*, 24, p. 2, and Virolleaud's admirable (though vastly incomplete) restoration, p. 5.

[5] See below, notes 7, 16, 22, 31.

[6] The story of Baal's ambition and its ultimate realization is told in *2AB* (*Syria*, 13, 113 ff.); also in *5AB*, col. 3 ff. (Virolleaud, *La déesse Anat*, pp. 29 ff.)

[7] It is a foregone conclusion that the Egyptian Hephaistos, who was summoned to come to Ugarit for the specific purpose of creating an extraordinary kind of house, was believed to have built such a house for one god and at one place only, although various stories were told about the intrigues and rivalries, among the gods, that accompanied the development of the plan. To assume that Hayin might have built more than one house, for more than one god, is, I believe, to deprive the myth of its essential motif; see the following note.

[8] I have dealt with the problem of the building saga, especially as reflected in *5AB*, in a monograph *Ugaritic Mythology—A Study of its Leading Motifs* (referred to hereafter as *Mythology*), which is to be published in the near future; for a more detailed (if tentative) analysis of *3AB C*, see *ibidem*, notes 23 ff.

economy. Moreover, the two accounts of the proceedings, so far from being duplicates, differ in important details: in the naming of the weapon, the specification of the parts of the body at which Baal was to aim his blows, the prediction of the effect of the ensuing attack, and the description of the actual effect. It seems obvious therefore that the repetition was devised by the narrator for a definite reason, and that a correct interpretation of the scene would depend upon the detection of that reason. We shall see that such a detection is made possible and, in fact, unavoidable by the syntax of sentence negation in Ugaritic, which the writer has been led to discern on independent grounds.[9]

2. *The Fragment as a Whole*

The fragment of *3AB A* consists of forty lines of writing, of which larger or smaller parts are missing at the top (*ll.* 1-6) and at the bottom (*ll.* 28-40). It is thus fortunate that the scene under consideration in the present study occupies the center of the fragment (*ll.* 11-28*a*), so that, except for minor defacements that can easily be mended, all its lines are complete.

The material on the fragment immediately preceding the text of the scene may readily be recognized as representing a dialogue between Baal and Hayin or, more precisely, the end of such a dialogue, with the artisan-god having the last word:[10]

w ʿn kṯr w xss
l rgmt (8) lk l zbl bʿl
ṯnt l rkb ʿrpt
ht ibk (9) bʿl-m
ht ibk tmxṣ
ht tṣmt ṣrtk (10)
tqḥ mlk ʿlmk
drkt dt drdrk

Regrettably, the beginning—and we have no way of saying how much of the beginning—of Baal's statement to which Hayin here replies is missing, owing to the upper break in the column, while a number of lacunae at the top of the fragment renders Baal's discourse unintelligible even as far as it is preserved. Only the last six stichoi of the discourse are clear in wording and unbroken in reading; but, without the testimony of the rest of the discourse, even these stichoi are far from certain as to their precise conveyance.[11] On the other hand, Hayin's reply to that discourse, which we have just quoted, may readily be seen as leading up, in no uncertain terms, to the scene that follows:

And there replies the Skillful and Discerning one:
"Have I not told thee, o Prince Baal,[12]

[9] See the article "Sentence Negation in Ugaritic," in *JBL*, 65 (1946), 233 ff. (referred to hereafter as *Negation*).

[10] In another dialogue between Baal and Hayin (*2AB* 7: 15 ff.), the latter refers to his own argument (cf. *ibid.* 6: 1 ff.) by the same phrase, *l rgmt lk*, which he employs here (which would indicate that he had urged Baal to destroy the "enemy" and "rival" earlier in the narrative); there, too, Hayin's statement concludes the dialogue. At the beginning of the fragment, *l.* 2, Virolleaud has discerned the words *aśṣe.hm* and *amr*, the first of which he renders "je les fasse sortir" (better: *ašṣih-m*, "I shall make him go out"), while the second word was left by him untranslated, but should no doubt be restored to (or understood in the sense of) *amrh*, "I shall force him out" (see below, n. 21), the two imperfects, in which the speaker would be none other than Baal, thus pointing to a direct discourse.

[11] The passage in question reads as follows:

l arṣ ypl ulny
w l ʿpr ʿẓmny (6)
[b] ph rgm l yṣa
b śpth hwth
w ttn gh yġr (7)
tḥt ksi zbl ym

To the ground shall fall the Mighty one,
And to the dust the Strong one;
[From] his mouth a word will issue,
From his lip, his utterance;
And it will raise its wrathful voice,
Under the throne of Prince Sea.

(For the reading *ʿẓmny*, cf. Virolleaud's autograph, and for the meaning of *-ny*, see *Mythology*, n. 93; I take it that *yġr* is to be combined with Arabic *waġr*, "spite, wrath, rage"; and that the agent of *ttn* is "his lip" or else "his utterance," both being feminine.) It would be tempting to see in the above passage the conclusion of Baal's discourse, in which he would appear to have suggested a method of how to overcome Prince Sea. The difficulty is that elsewhere in Ugaritic the phrase *b ph rgm l yṣa b śpth hwth* is employed in descriptive passages (*1D*: 113; 127; 142). Should this be the case here, Baal's discourse would have ended with *ʿẓmny*, or perhaps before, and it would be a question of whether the pronominal suffixes in *ph*, *śpth* and *hwth* do not refer *to Baal* (rather than "the Mighty one" and "the Strong one," that is, presumably, Prince Sea), and whether the verbs *yṣa* and *ttn* were not intended as historical presents (rather than as futures).

(Have I not) declared, o Rider of Clouds:
'When the enemy of thine, Baal,[13]
When thine enemy thou shalt cut up,
When thou shalt crush thy rival,
Then wilt thou obtain thy kingdom eternal,
Thy reign forever and ever'?"

In essence, we realize, the scene that follows merely describes how Baal acted upon this advice; how, with the crucial help of a weapon prepared by the Skillful one, he did cut up his enemy, and did crush his rival.

Following the scene, our fragment introduces us to a new episode, involving the goddess Athtart in adidtion to Baal and Prince Sea.[14] The end of the episode—again, we do not know how much of the end—is missing, owing to the break at the bottom, and the part that is preserved is even more lacunary than what is preserved of the dialogue at the top of the fragment. But here, too, the lines immediately adjacent to the scene are sufficiently well-preserved and clear to betray the essential features of the episode:

tg'r-m 'ṯtrt
bṯ l aliyn [b'l] (29)
bṯ l rkb 'rpt
k šbyn zb[l ym
k] (30) šbyn ṯpṭ nhr

There cries out Athtart:[15]
"Scatter him, o Aliyan [Baal],
Scatter him, o Rider of Clouds!
For Prin[ce Sea] has made us captives,
[For] Chieftain River has made us captives!"[16]

Further in the text, amidst its numerous lacunae, we come upon such phrases as *ybṯnn aliyn b'l*, "Aliyan Baal does scatter him," and [*w y'n*] *ym l mt, b'l-m ym*[*lk*], ["And there exclaims] Sea: 'Forsooth, I am undone, (It's) Baal who will rei[gn]'."[17]

Thus, having described in the foregoing scene how Baal subdued Prince Sea, the narrator now relates how, upon the instigation of Athtart, Baal "scatters" or "disperses" his enemy, and how the latter concedes his own defeat and the ensuing sovereignty of Baal, the "kingdom eternal" envisaged by Hayin. In short, despite the poor condition of the fragment at the top and the bottom, it may be seen to have involved three literary units interlocking in context, the scene being as logical a sequel of the dialogue that precedes it as it is a natural antecedent of the episode that follows it.

3. *Analysis and Interpretation*

In reproducing the text, on an adjacent page, we have proposed an arrangement whereby the scene proper may be seen to be divided evenly, or almost evenly, into the two major sections (*A-B*)

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[12] Or "I did tell thee;" cf. *Negation*, n. 4*a*.

[13] On *ht*, in the sense of "when, if," cf. *Mythology*, n. 81.

[14] The abrupt reference to Athtart would indicate that this goddess had been mentioned in the narrative of *3AB* prior to the events related in the *A* fragment—presumably, as the consort of Athtar. The latter god appears to have played an important part in the building saga as reflected in *3AB C*; and he is no doubt identical with the god of the same name (though of a different epithet; cf. *Mythology*, n. 26) who, in another Ugaritic narrative, is chosen by Athirat, Baal's mother and ally, to occupy Baal's throne on Mt. Ṣapon following the temporary death of the latter. If so, we would be bound to assume that Athtar's role in the building saga was that of an ally of Baal.

[15] Apparently, *tg'r* is used here in the sense which normally in the Ugaritic narratives is expressed by *tṣḥ* or *tśu gh w tṣḥ*; perhaps we deal here with a locution characteristic of the narrator of *3AB*; Virolleaud (*op. cit.*, p. 44) quotes the phrase *bhm yg'r* from the *B* fragment; for a possible use of *g'r* in the *C* fragment as well, cf. *Mythology*, n. 24. Elsewhere in Ugaritic, *yg'r* seems to be used of the braying of a horse (*Syria*, 15, 1934, p. 78, *l.* 23).

[16] Possibly, the suffix of *šbyn* is of the first person: *šabiyani*, "he has made me captive;" but a plural suffix, by which Athtart would refer to herself and those around her, perhaps even including Baal, is more likely. It is noteworthy, at any rate, that nearly always in Hebrew and Aramaic, occasionally also in Arabic, the verb *šby*, with a person or persons as its object, is employed for the action of a conqueror taking away, or about to take away, those he conquered from their domicile or homeland. In the instance before us, this would imply that Prince Sea had invaded Mt. Ṣapon, the latter being the seat of Baal, the meeting point of Baal and Hayin, and no doubt also the residence of Athtar and Athtart (see above, n. 14). For the meaning of *bṯ*—i.e., *buṯṯū* < *buṯṯuhu*—cf. Arabic *baṯṯahu* (*yabuṯṯuhu*), "to scatter, disperse (an army, horses)."

[17] For the tense of *mt* (that is, *mittu* or *muttu*), cf. *šuddaḏnû*, "we are undone!" (Jer. 4: 13), *'āḇaḏnû*, "we perish!" (Nu. 17: 17); see Driver, *Tenses*, p. 18; as often in Hebrew and Arabic, *m-t* seems to have here the sense of "to be defeated, deflated, extremely weakened," etc. (rather than that of "to die").

that sever its dramatic action into two virtual halves, followed by a brief finale (*C*). At a glance, too, it will be seen that the two major sections exhibit the same topical subdivision, each consisting of the same three contextual units: (*a*) performance of a ritual, (*b*) description of its pragmatic application, (*c*) description of the effect. Indeed, apart from a single and, as we shall see, significant couplet (*ll.* 29-30), the two sections of the scene tally so completely in wording and structure, strophical as well as metrical, that they might be mistaken for mere rhetorical twins and seem indeed to have been so mistaken. Of the eighteen stichoi of *A*, no fewer than seven are identical with corresponding stichoi in *B*, while each of the remaining stichoi in *A* has as close a counterpart in *B*—either of synthesis or of antithesis—as may be found in instances of rigid interlinear parallelism. Accordingly, it suffices to juxtapose each stichos of *A* with its correspondent in *B* in order to realize that the two halves of our scene may be arranged in columns parallel in every particular, except for the one couplet in *B*, just referred to, which has no counterpart in *A*. Upon closer scrutiny, it is the parallelism of the two sections, as well as the plus in the *B* section, that provides the key for the understanding of the true meaning of the scene. It has therefore seemed permissable, if only as a philological device, to arrange the text in terms of the situation just described.

In contrast to what seems to have been the rule in recording Ugaritic poems, the lines of the scribe in our fragment, and no doubt throughout the tablet of which it is a part, are of much greater length than the stichoi of the narrator, so that the former never coincide with the latter. In dealing with the scene before us, it has therefore seemed particularly desirable to furnish the metrical stichoi with numbers of their own, and to refer to specific passages by means of these numbers, while the lines of writing have been placed in parentheses. I have found this procedure convenient and helpful even when faced with poetical texts in their usual arrangement, that is, with texts in which the lines and the stichoi are of about equal length and, hence, may often be found to coincide.

Because of the close parallelism just referred to, it has seemed appropriate to consider the details of each unit in *A* together with those of its counterpart in *B*.

The Ritual (*Aa-Ba*).

Except that the ritual is performed by a god, rather than a human intermediary, such as a priest or a magician, it has the earmarks characteristic of an incantation: An object is invoked—we might say conjured—to act for the benefit of Baal and to the detriment of his enemy. Accordingly, apart from an introductory couplet, the present unit represents a direct discourse in both sections, a discourse addressed by the Skillful one to the staff he has just fashioned.

Of thoroughgoing correspondence, the two sections of the scene are here of uneven length. In *A*, the ritual consists of five couplets (*ll.* 1-10), each having an identical or nearly identical counterpart in *B* (*ll.* 19-28). In the latter section, however, a sixth couplet is added (*ll.* 29-30), which, as we have seen, is the sole element in *B* having no counterpart in *A*. Apart from this, the general ground covered in the two sections is the same: (*1*) the introductory couplet, (*2*) naming of the staff, (*3*) significance of the name, (*4*) behavior of the staff, and (*5*) aiming of the blows; while the additional couplet, in the second incantation, appears to concern (*6*) the foreseen effect. In particular, the topical analysis of the ritual would present itself as follows.

1. The introductory couplet (*ll.* 1-2; 19-20). Each of the two major sections of the scene—more precisely, each of the two accounts of the ritual—is introduced by an identical couplet descriptive in nature, that is, by a couplet in the narrator's own words. It refers to actions performed by the Skillful one. The first of these actions involves the verb *ynḥt* and its object *ṣmdm*. From the role of Hayin in Ugaritic folklore in general, the role of an architect and craftsman, we are bound to infer that *nḥt* is here used in the sense of Arabic *naḥata*, "to fashion, to form;" and from the fact that the couplet is used to introduce each of the two incantations, where the object is referred to as *ṣmd* rather than *ṣmdm*, we must deduce that the Skillful one is here said to have fashioned one object each time, the word thus standing in the singular (*ṣmd-m*), "a staff, a stick, a rod," or the like.[18]

[18] There might be a question whether *ynḥt* is an unassimilated form of the simple stem (see below, n. 26) or an intensive; possibly, Ugaritic tends to omit assimi-

THE TEXT

A a 1. kṯr ṣmd-m ynḥṭ
2. w yp'r śmth-m

3. šmk at (12) ygrš ygrš
4. grš ym

5. grš ym l ksih (13)
6. nhr l kḥṯ drkth

7. trtqṣ bd b'l
8. km nš(14)r b uṣb'th

9. hlm ktp zbl ym
10. bn ydm (15) ṯpṯ nhr

B a 19. kṯr ṣmd-m ynḥṭ
20. w yp'r śmth-m (19)

21. šmk at a-ymr a-ymr
22. mr ym

23. mr ym (20) l ksih
24. nhr l kḥṯ drkth

25. trtqṣ (21) bd b'l
26. km nšr b uṣb'th

27. hlm qdq(22)d zbl ym
28. bn 'nm ṯpṯ nhr

29. yprsḥ ym (23)
30. w yql l arṣ

b 11. yrtqṣ ṣmd bd b'l
12. km nšr (16) b uṣb'th

13. ylm ktp zbl ym
14. bn ydm ṯpṯ (17) nhr

b 31. w yrtqṣ ṣmd bd b'l (24)
32. km nšr b uṣb'th

33. ylm qdqd zbl (25) ym
34. bn 'nm ṯpṯ nhr

c 15. 'z ym
16. l ymk

17. l tnġṣn pnth
18. l ydlp (18) tmnh

c 35. yprsḥ ym
36. yql (26) l arṣ

37. tnġṣn pnth
38. w ydlp tmnh (27)

C 39. yqṯ b'l w yšt ym
40. ykly ṯpṯ nhr (28) b šm.

TRANSLATION

A a 1. The Skillful one—a staff he fashions,
2. And pronounces its design:
3. "Thy name, yea thine, is 'He-Will-Expel!
He-Will-Expel!'
4. Let him expel Sea!
5. Let him expel Sea from his throne,
6. River, from the seat of his reign!
7. Thou shalt swoop in the hand of Baal,
8. Like a vulture in his fingers!
9. Let him strike Prince Sea on the shoulder,
10. Between the arms, Chieftain River!"

b 11. Swoops the staff in the hand of Baal,
12. Like a vulture in his fingers.
13. He strikes Prince Sea on the shoulder,
14. Between the arms, Chieftain River.

c 15. Sea has withstood,
16. He does not bend,
17. His hips do not quiver,
18. His figure does not waver.

B a 19. The Skillful one—a staff he fashions,
20. And pronounces its design:
21. "Thy name, yea thine, is 'Ah, He-Will-Force-Out! Ah, He-Will-Force-Out!'
22. Let him force out Sea!
23. Let him force out Sea from his throne,
24. River, from the seat of his reign!
25. Thou shalt swoop in the hand of Baal,
26. Like a vulture in his fingers!
27. Let him strike Prince Sea on the head,
28. Between the eyes, Chieftain River!
29. Then will Sea sink down
30. And will fall to the ground."

b 31. So swoops the staff in the hand of Baal,
32. Like a vulture in his fingers.
33. He strikes Prince Sea on the head,
34. Between the eyes, Chieftain River.

c 35. Sea sinks down,
36. He falls to the ground,
37. His hips do quiver,
38. And his figure does waver.

C 39. (Now) Baal routs and deranges Sea,
40. He destroys Chieftain River into ruin.

Having fashioned the staff, we are told, the Skillful one performs another action, to which the narrator refers by the verb *yp'r*, with *šmthm* as its object. It has long been clear to me that *yp'r* should be combined, not with NWS *p'r*, which represents Sem. **pḏr*, but rather with Hebrew *p'r* (Hithp.) and *b'r*, "to speak clearly, to explain," here, appparently, "to evoke, to recite, to pronounce." As in the case of *ṣmdm*, and for the same reason, *šmthm* cannot possibly be a dual, and is therefore not to be connected with *šm*, "name." Rather we should understand the word as an abstract of *ś-m*, "to put, fix, set, determine," so that it should be rendered *śmth-m*, and combine it with Akkadian *šīmtu*, "determination, destiny, lot," Syriac *sīmṯā*, "design, make-up, decree," etc.[19]

2. Naming of the staff (*ll.* 3; 21). The phrase "thy name, yea thine," at the head of each invocation, makes it abundantly clear that the Skillful one fashions and names one staff each time, which should have forestalled the rendering of *ṣmdm* as "two sticks" and that of *šmthm* as "their names." We shall see presently that the basic idea conveyed in our scene is to the effect that the first incantation proved of no avail, and that Hayin therefore finds himself obliged to fashion another staff and to perform a new incantation.

We come here upon the first point of deviation between the two major sections of the scene. In *A*, the staff is given the name *ygrš*; in *B*, it is named *aymr*. I submit that in both instances we have to do with imperfects and, presumably, with intensives—*yagarrišu* and *yamarrī*—except that, in *B*, the verb is prefixed by a particle, *a*, which may safely be understood as an interjection comparable to the biblical *hōi 'ennāḥēm*, "Ah, I will ease me," (Is. 1:24).[20] In both instances, too, we should recognize that the implied agent of the verb is Baal. That is to say, the staff's "design" or "destiny" as a weapon to be employed by Baal is symbolized each time in its naming. If the interjection may be taken to have conveyed a sense of impatience or urgency, the difference in name would be admirably in keeping with the other elements in which we shall find the wording of *B* to differ from that of *A*. Since the staff named *ygrš*, "He-Will-Expel," has proved ineffective as a weapon, the new staff is given a name in which the verb is symbolically strengthened by the interjection: *aymr*, that is, *a-ymr*, "Ah-He-Will-Force-Out!"

3. Significance of the name (*ll.* 4-6; 22-24). The cryptic name is now explained more specifically. Because the staff is to serve the same function in either incantation, the explanation is the same in both, except for the verbs employed. Consonant with the difference in name, the verb used in *A* is *grš*, an optative perfect in the third person (*garraša*), "let him expel," while in *B* the verb is *mr*, another optative perfect (*marrā*), "let

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lation in verba mediae laryngalis, as does Hebrew. At any rate, we should no doubt understand the couplet, in *SS*: 37, *il xṯh nḥt* (*nāḥit*), *il ymnn* (*yamanninu*) *mṭ ydh* in the sense of "El, his stave shapes (things); El, the staff of his hand bestows favors;" cf. Arabic *manna 'alaihi*; similarly, *nḥt-m* (*nāḥitu-ma*) *xṭk, mmnn mṭ ydk*, "a shaper is thy stave; a bestower of favors is the staff of thy hand" (*ibid.*, 40, etc.). On *ṣmd*, cf. the description of *miḍmadah* in Tāj al-'Arūs (translated by Lane, *s. v.*): "a piece of wood which is put upon the necks of two bulls," etc.; also Syriac *ṣamdā*, "a wardrobe-peg; peg (in a weaver's beam)," Payne Smith, *s. v.* That the narrator of our scene chose the word *ṣmd* (rather than *xṭ* or *mṭ*, as in *SS*) may be taken to indicate that the word was used in Ugaritic for a particular kind of "staff," perhaps the kind that was made of metal and served as a weapon; hence perhaps also the choice, here as well as in *SS*, of *nḥt* (rather than *'db* or *b'l*); cf. Lane, *v. naḥata*.

[19] Cf. also Syriac *sĕyāmā*, "proposition, statement, enactment," etc. In Akkadian, it is true, the verb ordinarily used to express the act of pre-determining someone's fate, by a god or gods, is *šāmu, viz., šāmu šīmta*; but *nabū šīmta* (the Ugaritic equivalent of which would be our *p'r śmt*) is not unknown; cf. Delitzsch, *Handwoerterbuch*, 654*b*: *i-ba-a šimti*, "verkuendet mein Loos;" for *manū šipta* (*tā*), see below, notes 32 and 34. For the method which the writer has followed, here and elsewhere, in transliterating the Ugaritic sign for *š-ś*, see *Negation*, n. 3; (cf. Gordon, *Ug. Gr.*, 3.11). The rendering of *yp'r śmthm* suggested above would seem to be clearly borne out by *BH* 1:28-33 (*Syria* 16, 249), except that there the locution appears to be used in a concrete sense: *il-m yp'r śmthm, bhm qrnm km ṯrm, w gbṯt km ibrm, w bhm pn b'l*, "El pronounces their make-up: 'They shall have horns like bulls, and bumps like steers, and they shall have god-like faces'."

[20] Cf. interjections such as *'a, 'ā, 'ah* (Arabic), *'āhā* (Hebrew), etc. The suggestion advanced by Ginsberg that the initial two letters in *aymr* represent the element *ay* occurring earlier in the *A* fragment (*l.* 5) would have to be discarded even if no other accounting for *aymr* were possible, since that element is in reality *ny*, forming the suffix of *'ẓmny*, as we have seen (n. 11).

him force out," the agent in both verbs being Baal, of course.[21]

In fact, we are all but compelled to recognize that not only the verbs but also the possessive suffixes in "his throne" and "his reign" can only refer to Baal. It is from his own topos, Mt. Ṣapon, that Baal is to expel Prince Sea, who would thus be both a pretender to Baal's plan of having Hayin erect for him a magnificent house and a usurper of the realm in which the house is to be built. In the extant Ugaritic texts nothing is ever said about a domain of Prince Sea, but references to Baal's domain on Mt. Ṣapon are so frequent that a mere hint, such as "his reign," "his throne," is a sufficient means of identification, perhaps no less so than such biblical references to Mt. Zion as "my holy mount," "his sanctuary," and the like. Moreover, the whole tenor, not only of the scene but of the fragment as a whole, points to a conflict in which Prince Sea is the agressor and invader, while Baal merely repels an enemy and rival of his "kingdom eternal," of his "reign for ever and ever."[22]

4. Behavior of the staff (*ll.* 7-8; 25-26). Although the incantations are invoked over and addressed to the staff, as the weapon of the forthcoming attack, only the present couplet, identical in both incantations, concerns the staff's active part in the attack. Accordingly, we meet here with the only verb of the second person to be found in our text: *trtqṣ*, "thou shalt swoop."

5. Aiming of the blows (*ll.* 9-10; 27-28). The more crucial part of the attack, that of striking and directing the blows, is referred to in terms of the third person, where again an optative perfect is employed, with Baal as the implied agent: *hlm* (*halama*), "let him strike." We come here upon a further point of deviation between the two incantations. In *A*, Baal is to aim his blows at the enemy's "shoulder" and "between the arms," while in *B* he is to aim at the "head" of the enemy and "between the eyes."

Offhand, one might feel inclined to assume—in view of the great frequency with which variations of this kind occur in Ugaritic poetry—that the choice of expression here is purely arbitrary, serving only to balance the parallelism of corresponding stichoi, so that the narrator might equally well have reversed the order and used "head" and "eyes" in the first, and "shoulder" and "arms" in the second, incantation. Indeed, nothing would have been more natural than such an assumption and, at the same time, nothing would be further from the truth. In reality, there can be no doubt whatever that the variation here is designed to illustrate how the Skillful one succeeds in rendering his second incantation effective, after his first attempt has failed. In other words, in "head" and "between the eyes" the incantator is made to choose parts of the body which he expects would prove fatal to the enemy, even though the latter has remained uneffected by blows aimed at his "shoulder" and "between the arms."

6. The foreseen effect (*ll.* 29-30). Thus we understand at once the nature of the plus in the second incantation. In the additional couplet, the Skillful one simply reaffirms confidence in his art, unruffled by the failure of his first attempt. This time, he says in effect, the attack will not fail. When, in the new effort, Baal will direct his blows at the more vulnerable parts of the body, the enemy *will* "sink down," and *will* "fall to the ground."[23]

Pragmatic Application (*Ab-Bb*)

Following each incantation, the narrator resumes his descriptive account of the proceedings. In the present unit (*ll.* 11-14; 31-34) he merely relates, in effect, how the directives given by the incantator have been acted out each time with faithful precision: each time the staff did swoop, and each time Baal did strike, first, at the enemy's shoulder and between the arms and then, again, at his head and between the eyes. It is noteworthy (*a*) that the

[21] Cf. Syriac *marrī*, "to contend, to strive," Arabic *marā*, "to draw forth," *mārā*, "to dispute obstinately," Hebrew *mārâ* and *himrâ*, "to rebel, to oppose."

[22] Apart from instances (in *D* and *P*) with God as the agent and the indigenous peoples of Canaan as the object (where the connotation reflects a theological point of view), the verb *grš* is used in Hebrew almost invariably to denote the action of someone "driving out" from his land or his home either a foreign intruder or else a person whose privilege of domicile has been forfeited; hence *gârēš* came to mean in Hebrew "to divorce," a wife, and *gĕrûšâ*, "a divorced woman." It would therefore be very odd indeed that, in our scene, *grš* is used of Baal expelling Prince Sea, if the suffix in "his throne" and "his reign" would refer to the latter, so that Baal would be the invader; see also above, n. 16, and below, n. 31.

[23] For *yprsḥ*, cf. *plsx* in Akkadian (Delitzsch, *op. cit.*, 529; *ḳaḳḳariš ippalsix* is interesting in view of our *w yql l arṣ*).

"thou shalt swoop" (*trtqṣ*) of the direct discourse is replaced, in the description of the narrator, by "swoops the staff" (*yrtqṣ ṣmd*), which demonstrates once again that a single staff must be understood to have served as the weapon in each section of the scene; also, (*b*) that the optative perfect "let him strike" (*hlm*) of the incantation is here replaced by the imperfect "he strikes" (*ylm* < *yhlm*).[24]

The Effect (*Ac-Bc*)

It is only here, in the account of the outcome of each of the two incantations, that we are made fully aware of the meaning of the scene and, specifically, of its bisectional structure. With great literary skill, the narrator contrives to describe two opposite effects by employing the device of antithetical parallelism. The result is that each of the four stichoi in *A* (*ll.* 15-18) forms a contrast with each of the corresponding stichoi in *B* (*ll.* 35-38), the entire series placing the antithesis into strikingly sharp relief. Indeed, with their close balance of accumulative contrast, the present units all but clinch the suspicion that the two halves of our scene were intended to be acted out in antiphonal recital, perhaps even under the accompaniment of dramatic pantomime.

The series of contrasting stichoi begins with *'z ym* in *A*, and *yprsḥ ym* in *B*. In both instances, as indeed throughout the series, we apparently deal with verbal clauses: "Sea has withstood" and "Sea sinks down." If so, *'z* would be used here in a sense which this verb (*'azza*) may be found to carry in Arabic ("to withstand, to resist, to prove invincible, not to be overcome") and occasionally in Hebrew (cf. Ps. 9:20).[25] In the three other pairs of contrasting stichoi, the failure of the first incantation is conveyed each time by a negative verbal clause, with the negation represented by the particle *l* (*lā*). By mere repetition of the verbal clause without the negative particle, the antithesis is obtained in the last two pairs, which suggests a rather strong stress of the verb, by tone or gesture or both: "his hips *do* quiver," "his figure *does* waver."[26]

This, then, is the motive of the narrator in recounting twice a seemingly identical set of events. So far from indulging in mere rhetorical reiteration of one and the same episode, the narrator must be understood to have been faced here with the task of depicting a scene that involved two different sets of very much the same events. Twice the Skillful one did fashion a staff to serve as a weapon in the hands of Baal; twice he invoked an incantation; and twice Baal attacked the enemy. Because the first effort proved ineffective, the whole ritual had to be performed over again, this time with telling success. What impressed the listeners of this remarkable tale, we may infer, was that Prince Sea proved invincible in the face of the combined efforts of Hayin's art and Baal's blows. Hence, we may further infer, the failure of the first attack served to accentuate, rather than to diminish, the prestige of the two gods when their second effort did produce the desired effect.[27]

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[24] So correctly, Ginsberg, *op. cit.*, 76 (note on *l.* 16).

[25] Thus we should also understand the phrase *mt 'z b'l 'z* that occurs thrice in the description of the combat between these two gods (*1AB* 6:17 ff.): "Mot has withstood, Baal has withstood," contrasted (*ibid.*, *l.* 22 f.) with *mt ql b'l ql*, "Mot has fallen, Baal has fallen," as similarly in our scene.

[26] Unaware of the function of Ugaritic *l* in the sense of *lā*, previous translators have either left the particle untranslated (Ginsberg) or rendered it as "pour que" (Vir.) and "verily" (Gordon). At the same time, Virolleaud did realize that *ymk* is to be combined with NWS *mkk* and *m-k*, and Ginsberg has properly identified *tmn* with Hebrew *tĕmûnâ*, "figure, image." Puzzling, however, has remained the phrase *tnġṣn pnth*. There can be little doubt that (as noted by Virolleaud) we have here a locution akin to *tġṣ pnt kslh* found in *5AB D*: 31 (also *2AB* 2:19), the verb being identical with Arabic *naġaḍa*, "to shake, to wobble, to totter," etc., except that in the scene before us an unassimilated form is used (cf. *tiqqōḇ* and *yinqoḇ*, **yiddoṗ* and *tindoṗ*, in Hebrew), while *pnt* should be combined with Hebrew *pinnâ*, "corner, corner stone," etc. To judge by the final *n* in *tnġṣn*, *pnth* should be analyzed as a dual (*pinnatēhu*), no doubt in the figurative sense of "hips" or "flanks," possibly "buttocks" (so perhaps in the *5AB* passage: *pinnat kislēha*?); cf. the figurative use of Hebrew *pinnâ*, "pillar, column," and the dual of "loins, hips" elsewhere in Semitic. The meaning of *ydlp* may be inferred from the combined testimony of WS *dlp*, "to drop, to drip, to trickle down," Arabic *dalafa*, "to be heavily burdened," Akkadian *dalābu*, "to be pressed, to be in trouble." Virolleaud has called attention to the biblical parallelism *yimmaḵ ham-mĕqārê* || *yiḏlōp̄ hab-bayiṯ* (Eccl. 10:18) corresponding to the *ymk-ydlp* before us; perhaps there, too, the meaning is "bends the beam" || "totters the house" (rather than "the house leaketh").

[27] See below, n. 35.

The Finale (C).

It is instructive, I believe, that the episode does not end with the last couplet of *B*. Had this been the case, the impression conveyed would have been to the effect that the sole objective of Baal's attack was to fell the enemy, to knock him down "to the ground." As it is, we are compelled to realize that such an impression is not what the narrator intended. In adding the brief finale (*ll.* 39-40), over and above the scene proper, and outside its bisectional correspondence, he clearly implies that bringing the enemy to fall was merely the first step, though it seems the most important step, but that now Baal proceeds to destroy him, and to render the destruction complete and radical. We recall that this was the Skillful one's advice to Baal in the dialogue immediately preceding the scene: to "cut up" his enemy, to "crush" his rival.

If the finale may thus be understood as designed to relate how Baal acted according to that advice, the verbs used here (*yqṭ, yšt, ykly*) would merely be of a more concrete—perhaps we should say more specific and technical—connotation than those employed by the Skillful one (*tmxṣ, tṣmt*). At any rate, it seems well-nigh self-evident that we should combine *yqṭ* and *yšt* with Arabic *qaṭṭa,* "to pull out, to eradicate, to extirpate," and *šatta,* "to become broken up, deranged, disorganized," hence *šattata,* "to dissolve, break up, derange," with both verbs found to have as their object *qaum,* "a people" or "a party." Equally plain it is that *ykly* (that is, presumably, *yakalliyu*) is here used in a sense best represented by its Hebrew equivalent *killâ,* "to destroy, to consume," again, with the object often being a community of men or a whole people. Furthermore, by the length of the first stichos of the couplet (*l.* 39), we are bound to recognize that *b šm* concludes the second stichos, serving as an adverbial qualifier of *ykly*. Here, too, the meaning might be best deduced from what seems to be the Hebrew equivalent of the Ugaritic vocable: *šammâ,* also *šĕmāmâ,* "ruin, desolation," etc., so that our *b šm* would represent the exact counterpart of Hebrew *lĕšammâ* and *lišmāmâ,* "into a ruin, desolation," often depending on verbs that connote "to make, to render," again, with the direct object being a land, a city, a people.[28]

Problem of the Myth.

In terms of the above rendering of the several vocables involved, the wording of the finale would bring us face to face with the cumbersome question as to the intrinsic nature of the myth under discussion. Why the total, indeed multiple, devastation? By the combined testimony of the two *3AB* fragments at our disposal, the issue—or, at any rate, one of the issues—involved might be seen to lie in the possession of the grandiose house that was to be created by the Skillful one on Mt. Ṣapon. But by the wording of the finale of our scene, the mythological struggle would seem to reflect hostilities not between individuals but rather between parties or peoples. For only in hostilities of this kind, such as between clans, tribes, kingdoms, is it natural to say of the defeated enemy that, having been forced down, he was routed, deranged, destroyed into ruin.

It is indeed an undertaking as venturesome as it is precarious to define the Baal-Prince Sea myth on the basis of two isolated fragments of an otherwise unknown narrative—a narrative that may have dealt with the myth at great length and in more revealing detail than those offered by our fragments. Moreover, it is to be expected that the publication of the *B* fragment will shed further light on the enmity motif as treated in that narrative. For the present, however, it is all but impossible to escape the impression that—unlike the enmity between Baal and Mot, which may be best understood as one of cosmological character—that between Baal and Prince Sea should be considered as having originated under definite historical conditions. In other words, in the light of the fragment which we have analyzed, the narrator of *3AB* would appear to have incorporated in his version of the building saga a myth designed to explain, etiologically, how the people of Ugarit succeeded in expelling a hostile invasion effected by the inhabitants of a sea region, say, on the eastern shore of the Mediterranean, how they routed and deranged the invader's forces, how they destroyed his ranks into ruin. That, by the

[28] Both the meaning, in the sense just indicated, and the metrical balance of the couplet (*ll.* 39-40) require that *b šm* be seen to conclude the second stichos; so also in the arrangement proposed by Virolleaud, although he arrived at a different interpretation of the phrase. It is hard to see why Ginsberg should have made *b šm* form the beginning of the following episode (cf. above, p. 198), whereby the phrase becomes all but incoherent.

medium of folklore, the struggle between two peoples may easily come to be remembered as the struggle between their respective gods—and, in the present instance, between Baal, the most active and most popular god of Ugarit, and Prince Sea, the real or popularly assumed name of the god worshipped by the invaders from the sea region [29]—is too well-known a phenomenon to need being discussed here.

Apart from the striking verbiage of the finale, we have met with a number of peculiarities which, while of little weight when seen separately, may be taken to lend cumulative strength to the understanding of the myth just suggested. (*a*) In the episode immediately following our scene, we have seen, the narrator recounts how Baal was urged to "scatter" or "disperse" (*baṭṭa*) the enemy—another term that could hardly apply to an individual combatant—and how this was motivated by the circumstance that Prince Sea "has made us captives," which verb (*šby*) is regularly employed in the Semitic vocabulary of warfare in the human, earthly sense of the word. (*b*) When, in the *C* fragment, the narrator tells how El ordered Hayin to build a house for none other than Prince Sea, undoubtedly on Mt. Ṣapon, this could now be understood as reflecting a prolonged and successful invasion on the part of the sea people, an invasion threatening to gain complete control over Ugarit and to replace the authority of Baal by that of Prince Sea. (*c*) Again, in telling how the destruction and expulsion of Prince Sea was made possible by a weapon fashioned by the Skillful one, the narrator would appear to have lent etiological expression to a popular belief, if not indeed an actual recollection, that the victory over the invaders was greatly enhanced by a new kind of arms, that is, arms wrought of metal.[30] (*d*) The incantations over the weapon, we have seen, lay stress on how Baal should expel and force out the enemy from "*his* throne" and the seat of "*his* reign," which is only possible if the enemy had invaded that throne and that reign. Without regard to the implication of our scene, the writer has found himself obliged to propose that the advice which, in *5AB D*: 45-48, Anat offers her brother Baal, through the medium of his envoy, be rendered as follows:

Let Baal banish (*ṯrd*) from the Height of Ṣapon
(Aanyone) who makes trouble and withholds his obedience;
Let him expel him (*gršh*) from the seat of his kingdom.
Yea, let him pluck out from the throne of his reign
Whatever enemies have risen unto Baal,
(Whatever) rivals, unto the Rider of Clouds.[31]

4. *Peculiarity of the Incantation Type*

The outstanding feature of the scene is in that it presents us with an extraordinary and, as far as can be seen, unparalleled instance of an incantation ritual. As already indicated, Hayin's status as an artisan-god is well established in Ugaritic mythology, where he figures now as an accomplished smith, now as a master-builder, now again as a maker of bows. Equally well-established is his alliance with Baal, which in the nature of things involves corollary alliance against Baal's enemies and rivals. It is therefore consonant with his position that, in our scene, he makes use of his art to furnish Baal with a weapon by which to combat a particularly formidable enemy.

But why the ritual? Why the reciting of the staff's *šmt*? Why should a weapon produced by the divine master-worker for the benfit of a major god require the magic help of an incantation—and indeed of a twofold incantation—in order to

[29] Such a popular nickname for the god of an enemy from the sea region would have suggested itself by the widespread myth of the hostile sea-monster (Tiamat, Leviathan, etc.), the primeval antagonist of the benevolent gods, which appears to have been familar to the people of Ugarit; cf. *1*AB* 1: 1 ff., and note in particular the verbs *tmxṣ* and *tkly*, both employed by the narrator of our fragment.

[30] Cf. the archeological note in 1 Samuel 13: 19 ff., which reflects a popular belief, or recollection, to the effect that the military superiority of the Philistines (*ibid.* v. 6) was due to their superior equipment, specifically in weapons made of metal, while "there was no smith found throughout all the land of Israel" (v. 19), so that "in the day of battle there was neither sword nor spear found in the hand of any of the people that were with Saul and Jonathan" (v. 22).

[31] For a detailed analysis of the passage, see *Mythology*, in the chapter "Enemies and Rivals;" the phrase *b mrym ṣpn* leaves no room for doubt as to the nature of the suffix in *mlkh* and *drkth*; note especially the close correspondence between *gršh b ksi mlkh . . . l kḫṯ drkth*, in Anat's advice to her brother, and *grš* (*mr*) *ym l ksih*, *nhr l kḫṯ drkth* in Hayin's discourse before us (*ll.* 5-6, 23-24); cf. also above, n. 22.

be rendered fatal to the god's enemy? Does its efficacy become complete only by the invocation of a symbolic name and of a liturgy-like recital of directives as to the purpose and, especially, as to the manner of the attack? Above all, why should the formula have been invoked over the instrument rather than the attacker, that is, over Baal?

Almost any number of parallels might be brought to bear on this or that detail of the ritual before us. It might be especially instructive to adduce one or two counterparts from the Babylonian creation myth *Enūma Elish*. Here the Mesopotamian god Ea, the "Discerning" one (*xasis*), fashions for himself a magic object, then composes and recites "a most holy incantation," by the help of which he proceeds to destroy the evil god Apšu and to overcome the latter's attendant Mummu.[32] When Ea's son Marduk—whose position in the Babylonian pantheon is very much like that of Baal in Ugarit—is commissioned by the gods to go forth and challenge the monster goddess Tiamat, the gods teach him the power of magic (demonstrated by the destruction and restoration of a garment) and provide him with an unopposable weapon, thus determining his destiny (*ši-ma-tu-uš*).[33] Again, in defiance of Marduk's challenge, Tiamat herself recites an incantation and utters a conjuration.[34]

However, these and similar literary parallels, although they might account for one or the other point in the manner in which our ritual is narrated, are hardly sufficient to account for the fact of the ritual itself. Rather, we should discern here the impact of practical magic and sorcery in which the cult of Ugarit must have shared with the great cults of the ancient Near East, very likely depending on these cults to a greater or lesser degree, primarily no doubt on those of Egypt and Babylonia. The use of *šmt* in the sense of "design" or "destiny," if it represents a Babylonian loanword in Ugaritic, would point to Akkadian influence in a sphere closely related to magic. Thus the device by which Baal's attack proves first ineffective, becoming fatal to the enemy only upon the repetition of the ritual—even if it was utilized by the narrator to emphasize the great strength of Prince Sea and the even greater resourcefulness of Hayin—might well nave derived from frequent occurrences of failure leading to a repeated effort on the part of the sorcerer.[35] Again, Ugaritic practice might well have included invocation of magical formulae over objects, as well as over persons, comparable, on the one hand, to the wide-spread phenomenon of charms, amulets, incantation bowls and, on the other, to that of blessings invoked over a variety of things (including weapons), especially, when first put to practical use, in Judaism and Christianity.

It is well to bear in mind that the transference of the ritual from the sphere of magic to that of myth would have been natural enough, since as a rule the human practitioner does not claim to have control over the magical forces himself but merely —and this is especially clear in Sumero-Akkadian incantation texts—to induce the gods to exercise these powers in favor of his client. Thus we may perhaps understand why the narrator of our scene refers to Hayin's invocation by the term *šmt* rather than by an equivalent of *šiptu*, that is "conjuration," the craft of the conjurer (*āšipu, aššāpu*). In point of fact, Babylonian and Assyrian incantations often appeal explicitly—as they always do implicitly—to the *šīmtu* of the gods.[36]

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[32] *En. el.* 1: 61 ff. (*ú-nak-kil-šu šu-tu-ru ta-a-šu el-lum im-ni-šum-ma*); see Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago, 1942), p. 10. The parallel is enchanced by the fact that both Ea and Hayin are associated with craftsmanship, the former being spoken of as "the patron of craftsmen and artisans;" see B. Meissner, *Babylonien und Assyrien*, 2, 12 ff.; it is further enhanced by the epithet *xasīs* (*sic*?) being common to both gods, and occuring in the episode just quoted: *xa-sis mi-im-ma-ma* (*l.* 60), while other epithets of Ea make him the master of "destinies" as well as of "incantations" (*bēl šīmāti, bēl šipti*); cf. Tallqvist, *Akkadische Goetterepitheta*, 289 f. Is perhaps *gu-uš-šur*, "strong," mentioned as an epithet of Ea together with *xasis* (*ibid.*, lines 18-19) the Akkadian equivalent of *ktr*, the other epithet of Hayin?

[33] *Ibidem*, 4: 19 ff. One cannot help suspecting that *l.* 33 was intended to sum up the episode described in the preceding section, so that *ši-ma-tu-uš* would refer specifically to the direct discourse of (the *šīmtu* offered him by) the gods in lines 3-18 (cf. line 4: *ši-mat-ka la ša-na-an*).

[34] *Ibidem* 4: 91 (*i-man-ni šip-ta it-ta-nam-di ta-a-ša*).

[35] On the preoccupation of Greek magicians with means by which failure of a conjuration might be prevented, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, 27, *Mageia*, 344 ff. It might be permissible to adduce here the narrative of 2 Kings 4: 29 ff., in which Gehazi's attempt to revive the child by the medium of Elisha's staff proved of no avail, although the procedure had been ordered by the prophet himself ("and lay my staff upon the face of the child").

[36] See the materials in E. Ebeling, *Aus d. Tageb. eines assyr. Zauberpriesters* (Mitteil. d. Altor. Ges., V-3, 1931), passim; p. 47, line 10: *a-na ṣi-it pi-ia ú-tag-ga-a*

In the last analysis, too, allowance will have to be made for the peculiar factor of Hayin. A newcomer in the Ugaritic pantheon, he personifies a new age of craft and workmanship, the advance of metallurgy, the art of the smith and the foundry. Nothing indeed seems more likely than that the weapon he fashioned for Baal was held in the Ugaritic saga to have been devised by the new, metallurgical, process. Scholars have long since thought that the use of bronze and iron for magical purposes is to be accounted for by the notion that these metals were unknown to the primeval demons, who therefore had no power over them.[37] Might not such a notion have led the people of Ugarit to believe that their victory over the invaders from the sea region, and, etiologically, Baal's victory over Prince Sea, was due to the superior magical efficacy of the new kind of arms, that is, arms made of metal? Might not the same notion have led the narrator of *3AB* to relate how Hayin performs an incantation, in the sense of a *śmt*, over the new kind of weapon he has just fashioned?

Our scene has been compared with the story of Zachariah (11:7), in which the prophet takes unto himself two staves, gives each a symbolic name, and later cuts each staff asunder to demonstrate that it did not serve the purpose as symbolized by the name (vv. 10, 14). However, since Hayin fashions and names only one staff at a time, a more suggestive comparison would seem to be offered by the staff or rod of Moses — also called "the rod of God"—by which, it is implied, he helps the Israelites subdue their arch-enemy Amalek (cf. Ex. 17:9 ff.) and which has the power to turn into a serpent as well as to swallow other magical rods (*ibid.*, 4:5; cf. 7:12). It is perhaps pertinent to recall, in view of the power of Hayin's staff over a deity called Prince Sea and Chieftain River, how often, and for how various purposes, the rod of Moses is given power over water: to "divide" the Red Sea, to "smite" the river Nile, and the waters of Egypt in general, to bring water out of the rock by "thy rod, wherewith thou smotest the river" (*ibid.*, 7:17, 19; 3:1; 14:16; 17:5 f.).[38] Especially in connection with our scene's ritual, it might also be pertinent to recall the biblical story of how Ahab, when preparing for his campaign against Aram, gathered four hundred ("false") prophets, in order to inquire of them whether the campaign would be successful, and how one of them, Zedekiah, the son of Chenaanah, devised for himself horns of iron and, addressing the king of Israel, exclaimed "Thus saith the Lord: With these shalt thou gore the Arameans, until they be consumed" (1 Kings 22:11)—using a form of the same verb, for "consumed" (*kallôṯām*), which is employed by the narrator of our scene in describing how Baal "destroyed" (*ykly*) his enemy "into ruin."

ilâni(meš) bêlê šimâte(meš), "Auf den Auspruch meines Mundes achtet, Goetter, Herren der Schicksale!"; and those in W.G. Kunstmann, *Die Babyl. Gebetsbeschwoerung* (University of Leipzig Dissertation, 1930), under "Anrede," pp. 7 ff., and "Bitte," pp. 16 ff.; cf. *bēl šimati* (p. 9); *mušim šimāti* (p. 10); *aš-šum di-in da-a-ni purussâ parāsi . . .itti-ki*, "Weil das Gericht richten, die Entscheidung entscheiden . . . bei dir steht" (p. 25).

[37] Wünsch, *Antikes Zaubergeraet aus Pergamon*, p. 38 (cited in Ebeling, *ibid.*, 29); cf. Pauly-Wissowa, *loc. cit.*, 326 f., and Ebeling, *ibid.*, p. 34 (*l.* 13) and p. 44 (*l.* 9: "Gewaltig ist das Erz, gewaltig *Marduk*").

[38] If the traditional interpretation of the narrative in Nu. 20: 8-12 be correct, we may see here (perhaps also in 2 Kings 4: 29 ff.; above, n. 35) a trend aiming to replace the belief in the powers of the staff by that in the word of a prophet of God; even so, it is remarkable how much stress is laid in the narrative on the presence of the staff (v. 8, "take the rod;" v. 9, "and Moses took the rod from before the Lord").

THE NAME OF THE GODDESS MĪNĀKṢĪ 'FISH-EYE'

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THE GREAT TEMPLE at Madura is dedicated to the goddess Pārvatī or Devī, wife of the god Shiva, known there by the special name of Mīnākṣī, which means 'Fish-eye.' Since the temple is one of the largest and most frequented in India, drawing visitors from all parts of the country, there is an interest in inquiring into the meaning of the appellation, especially since the various Sanskrit and vernacular lexicons, including those of the South Indian Dravidian languages, give little help in interpreting it.

A few years ago, having occasion to comment on the name, I suggested that it was used of the goddess 'probably to indicate that she has beautifully large and long eyes, although . . . variously explained as indicating that she was originally the goddess of fisher folk or that her eyes assume the appearance of fish eyes in love of her husband.'[1] These interpretations now seem to me, for one reason or another, either unsatisfactory or only partly correct, while there is another interpretation which seems more significant.

The idea that Mīnākṣī was originally a goddess of the fisher folk appears to be loosely based on the fact that the city of Madura has for two thousand years maintained a close association with the seacoast and drawn much of its wealth and importance from ocean trade.[2] But I know no positive evidence to support the theory that the goddess or her name is borrowed from coastal people.

The interpretation of the name as 'an epithet of the wife of Siva, probably meaning with love-filled eyes,' was proposed by the late Bishop Whitehead, the well-known authority on South Indian village gods, but he offered no documentation.[3] It is, of course, quite likely that worshippers of Shiva and Mīnākṣī, confident that she embodies all the ideals of Hindu wifehood, believe that her eyes, when turned toward him, are full of love. But I do not recall any indication in Hindu literature that the love-filled glance which a husband sees in his wife's eyes is in any respect fishlike.

My own previous suggestion that the epithet 'Fish-eye' refers to the beauty of Mīnākṣī's eyes was based on the Hindu poets' frequent use of such a comparison as a compliment to a lady. It can be applied in no less than three different ways. The most obvious is that her eyes are compared to the eyes of a fish, which are certainly large and brilliant. This would make the term 'fish-eye' mean 'having eyes like those of a fish.' The second is that the shape of the human eye is compared to the shape of a fish's body. There would in this case be no allusion to the fish's eye, and the Sanskrit compound would mean 'having eyes similar in shape to the body of a fish.' Such a comparison would indicate that the lady's eyes were long and slender, with graceful curves, and it would mean essentially the same as the even commoner comparison of eyes to lotus petals. This is the explanation of the term which I have most frequently received from traditionally educated Indians whom I have asked for the significance of the Sanskrit word. The third interpretation is that the eyes dart about like a fish in the water. I have found this notion in South India[4] and heard it from at least one Indian whose home is in Gujarat. I would think that without doubt the name Mīnākṣī conveys to worshippers of the goddess a reference to the beauty of her eyes; to some it may convey no other idea.

[1] W. Norman Brown, *A Pillared Hall from a Temple at Madura, India, in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*, 1940, p. 7.

[2] This suggestion was communicated to me orally in Madura. The relation of the fisher folk with religious and royal legend of Madura appears, for example, in the Madura Chronicles, as reported by T. G. Aravamuthan, *Tamil Tradition* (reprinted from the *Journal of Oriental Research*, 1930-32, Madras), pp. 62 (Legend 22), 99 (PPPN22).

[3] Henry Whitehead, *The Village Gods of South India*, 1921, p. 12 footnote. Bishop Whitehead also refers to a legend concerning the origin of Mīnākṣī as a demonization of a daughter of one of the Pandya kings of Madura (cf. J. P. Jones in ERE 8. 240, and various guide books and other popular works of reference). But the terms of the legend itself indicate that the worship of Mīnākṣī at her temple preceded the events alleged in the legend, for the motivation is the closing of the temple by the wicked king. Eventually, his daughter is married by Shiva, and the real point of the story seems to be an explanation of how Mīnākṣī came to be Shiva's wife, that is, how she came to be identified with Pārvatī.

[4] F. Kingsbury and G. E. Phillips, *Hymns of the Tamil Śaivite Saints*, 1921, p. 31.

But the term has a further, more pregnant, significance to the more thoughtful of her devotés, those who are deeply versed in the dogma that the goddess Pārvatī, or Mīnākṣī, is the embodiment of the world's kinetic energy and its supreme force. That dogma is served in the case of the epithet we are studying by the Hindu notion that the eyes of a god, like those of a fish, never close. The compound then would mean 'she who has eyes like those of a fish,' because they never wink. I am now going on to show, first, that the Hindus recognized that fish never close their eyes; second, that they compare gods with fish on the basis of the common characteristic of not winking; and, third, that the idea that deities do not wink is well established in Indian thought, and when applied to the goddess Pārvatī, or Devī, has a precise significance.

That Hindus had noticed that fish do not close their eyes is quickly attested by a Mahābhārata passage (Crit. Ed. 3. 133. 26 = 3. 10649 = 3. 133. 28) cited by the Petersburg Dictionary under the verb *ni miṣ*. In that passage a number of riddles are propounded, one of which is, 'What does not close its eyes when asleep?' The answer is, 'A fish, when asleep, does not close its eyes (*matsyaḥ supto na nimiṣati*).' Similarly, in the *Indische Sprüche* 4376 (4603) there is used in the sense of 'fish' the compound *animiṣadṛś* 'that which has an unwinking gaze.' It appears in conjunction with words for 'ape,' 'boar,' 'serpent' (*kapīnāṃ kolānām animiṣadṛśāṃ . . . phaṇinām*).

Special attention should fall upon the Sanskrit verb *ni miṣ* used in the Mahābhārata passage quoted, and derivatives from this verb, such as *animiṣa*, which is found in the word *animiṣadṛś*, also just cited. The verb *ni miṣ* means 'close the eyes, wink, blink,' and is common in the language from the time of the Rigveda, as are also derivatives from it. By the time of Classical Sanskrit certain of these derivatives are used doubly of gods and fish, showing that the two classes of beings were compared on the basis of not winking. In this connection the most suggestive word is the adjective *a-nimiṣa* 'non-winking,' which classical Indian Sanskrit lexicons also cite as a noun in the two meanings of 'god' and 'fish.' For example, the *Amarakośa* 3. 218/220 (cited in PW) states *suramatsyāv animiṣau* 'god and fish are *animiṣa*' or, to express it another way, 'the word *animiṣa* "non-winker" means "god" and "fish."' Again, Hemacandra (also cited in PW) in his *Abhidhānacintāmaṇi*, or Dictionary of Synonymns, in treating the term 'god,' gives a list of synonyms. One stanza includes the following:

devāḥ suparvasuranirjaradevatarbhubarhirmukhānimiṣadaivatanākilekhāḥ (2. 2)

'Gods (*deva*) are [known by the synonymns] *suparvan* "well-jointed," *sura* "god," *nirjara* "unaging," *devatā* "deity," *ṛbhu* (class of Vedic deities), *barhirmukha* "one who has the sacrificial fire or the Fire fed by it as his mouth," *animiṣa* "non-winker," *daivata* "divinity," *nākin* "heaven-dweller," and *lekha* ("line" or "manuscript"; here according to the commentator it means "god" because what a god writes comes true).' In this list the important word for the present note is *animiṣa*; for, just as the Amarakośa states briefly that this word means both 'god' and 'fish,' so Hemacandra, in his more expanded treatment, gives us the same information. In the same work from which I quoted above he lists synonymns for 'fish' (4. 409-410). There he says:

matsyo mīnaḥ pṛthuromā jhaṣo vaisariṇo 'ṇḍajaḥ (409)
saṅghacārī sthirajihva ātmāśī svakulakṣayaḥ
visāraḥ śakalī śalkī śaṃvaro 'nimiṣas timiḥ (410)

'[Synonymns of] *matsya* "fish" are *mīna* "fish," *pṛthuroman* "the one with wide hair (= scales or fins)," *jhaṣa* (a large mythical fish), *vaisariṇa* "wide-ranging," *aṇḍaja* "egg-born," *saṅghacārin* "travelling in schools," *sthirajihva* "firm-tongued," *ātmāśin* "self-eating" (i. e. "cannibal"), *svakulakṣaya* "destroying its own race (cannibal)," *visāra* "far-traveller," *śakalin* "scaly," *śalkin* "scaly," *śaṃvara* (name of a Vedic demon), *animiṣa* "non-winker," *timi* (a fabulous marine monster).'

Besides being quoted in the Sanskrit lexicons, the word *animiṣa* as a noun has some standing in modern Indo-Aryan languages in the same double meaning: Shyam Sundar Das in the *Hindī Śabda-Sāgara* defines it as '(1) *devatā* ["divinity"] (2) *machalī* ["fish"].'

The similar Sanskrit word *a-nimeṣa* 'non-winker,' like *animiṣa*, is also defined in the Sanskrit lexicons as meaning both 'god' and 'fish.'

This material should establish that Hindus find a god and a fish similar in that both are unwinking. But what is the significance to a Hindu of the idea that gods never close their eyes? Some data selected from Hindu literature should roughly

indicate the history of the idea so that we can focus it upon the epithet Mīnākṣī.

Non-winking as a characterization of gods is frequent in the Rigveda. For example, it is said of Agni, in a passage where he is associated with the Sun: *ná ní miṣati suráṇo divé-dive yád úsurasya jaṭhárād ájāyata* (3. 29. 14) 'Giving delight day by day, he has not closed his eyes since he was born from the belly of the asura.' Indra, the mighty warrior hero of the Rigveda, is described as unwinking (*animiṣa*) in 10. 103. 1: *saṃkrándano 'nimiṣá ekavīráḥ śatáṃ sénā ajayat sākám indraḥ* 'Roaring, not closing his eyes, the unparalleled hero Indra conquered a hundred armies at a time.' The latter passage is repeated in AV 19. 13. 2, where it is also immediately followed by a stanza in which Indra is again characterized as *animiṣá*. The spies of the gods or of Varuṇa as custodian of cosmic law (*ṛta*), are called unwinking, for example in 9. 73. 4 (= AV 5. 6. 3): *ásya spáśo ná ní miṣanti bhūrṇayaḥ padé-pade pāśínaḥ santi sétavaḥ* 'His (Varuṇa's?) spies never close their eyes as they busily go around; in every place are bonds that snare one.' And when Yamī, the first woman, urges her twin brother Yama to mate with her, he warns her against the incest by saying in 10. 10. 8 (= AV 18. 1. 9): *ná tiṣṭhanti ná ní miṣanty eté devānāṃ spáśa ihá yé cáranti* 'Those spies of the gods who roam this earth are never still and never close their eyes.'

The commonest use of the idea in the Rigveda is to indicate that the gods keep unwinking watch over the pious man to protect him. This is said most often of the Ādityas, either collectively or singly (Mitra, Varuṇa), also of Agni, possibly of the Viśve devāḥ. An illustrative passage is 2. 27. 9: *ásvapnajo animiṣá ádabdhā uruśáṃsā ṛjáve mártyāya* '[The Ādityas] are not sleepy, not winking, not deceived, widely ruling for the righteous mortal.' Again, of the Ādityas in 7. 60. 7: *imé divó ánimiṣā pṛthivyáś cikitvāṅso acetásaṃ nayanti* 'These (the Ādityas), unwinkingly attentive over sky and earth, conduct him who is uninformed (presumably, uninformed of how to escape the perils that beset him).' Further, in 8. 25. 9 it is said: *akṣṇáś cid gātuvíttarānulbaṇéna cákṣasā ní cin miṣántā nicirā́ ní cikyatuḥ* '[Mitra and Varuṇa,] better at finding paths than is the eye, never once winking, observant, keep watch." Mitra is mentioned in a similar connection in 3. 59. 1: *mitró jánān yātayati bruvāṇó mitró dādhāra pṛthivīṃ utá dyā́m / mitráḥ kṛṣṭī́r ánimiṣābhí caṣṭe mitráya havyám ghṛtávaj juhota* 'Mitra, when addressed, responds to men; Mitra has made firm the earth and sky; Mitra unwinkingly keeps watch over the folk—to Mitra offer the oblation rich with ghī.' Going a step farther, Mitra and Varuṇa set spies to assist in the service of righteousness, according to 7. 61. 3: . . . *mitrāvaruṇā . . . spáśo dadhāthe . . . ánimiṣaṃ rákṣamāṇā* 'O Mitra and Varuṇa . . . you have set spies . . . as unwinkingly you give protection.' In a manner natural to the Rigveda, Agni in 1. 31. 12, like the Ādityas, also protects unwinkingly: *tvā́m no agne táva deva pāyúbhir maghóno rakṣa tanvàś ca vandya / trātā́ tokásya tánaye gávām asy ánimeṣaṃ rákṣamāṇas táva vraté* 'Agni, god, with your protections guard our generous patrons and ourselves, O worshipful. You are the guardian of the children in our line and of the cows, giving protection unwinkingly, according to your function.' Finally the poet of 10. 63. 4, perhaps to encourage the gods in this good work of unwinking protection, advises all listeners of the reward that comes from such service; he says of the Ādityas (or it may be of the Viśve Devāḥ): *nṛcákṣaso ánimiṣanto arháṇā bṛhád devā́so amṛtatvám ānaśuḥ* 'Watching over men and never winking, deservingly as gods have they won [the place of] high immortality.'

It would be unwise to understand 'non-winking' altogether literally in most of these Vedic passages. The one sure exception seems to be in application to Agni as Sun (3. 29. 14). It may well be that non-winking is usually used as a literary hyperbole to indicate only that the gods watch with extraordinary care.

But it sometimes happens that a figure of speech of one generation becomes a dogma of another. By the time of the epic in India it is flatly understood that gods, when in their true form, by nature do not wink. Everyone who has read the story of Nala will recall that fact. At its first climax, the heroine in her rite of Self-choice of a bridegroom, sees five suitors all looking exactly alike, whom she knows to her heart's desire Nala and the four gods who have also come to woo her and, bent on confusing her, have taken his form because she has let them know beforehand that she wishes only Nala. To resolve the difficulty, she performs a Truth Act by the completeness of her devotion to Nala, and through its power compels them to assume their

true forms, with all their divine characteristics. Then they appear not touching the ground, with no dust adhering to their skin, their garlands fresh and unwilted, shadowless, and with unwinking eyes. Nala, lacking these characteristics, is then easily recognized and chosen by her.

This aspect of the notion that gods never wink or sleep is day-to-day average Hindu theology. But on a more speculative and metaphysical level of thought the epics and the Purāṇas give it a cosmogonic application. Creation, according to them, consists of the evolution of matter from its undifferentiated or unmanifest and inert state through the operation upon it of soul, or souls, and the varying presence in it of the three qualities (*guṇa*) of *sattva* (purity), which is white in color, *rajas* (passion), which is red, and *tamas* (darkness), which is black. Before creation Nārāyaṇa, the first cause, commonly associated with the god Vishnu, lies upon the primordial ocean. From his navel rises a lotus on which is born the god Brahmā, the active agent in creation. Or the idea may be variantly expressed that from the first principle, which is the neuter impersonal Brahma, is evolved the personal masculine deity Brahmā, who has only *sattva* as his quality. Brahmā is alternately awake and asleep. The period of his wakefulness is his day, that of his sleep is his night. His days and nights, however, are not to be compared in length to those which we humans know. One of his days, by the figuring of the Purāṇas, amounts to as long a period as is encompassed by 4,320,000,000 human years, and one of his nights is equally long. A year of Brahmā consists of 360 of these days and 360 of the corresponding nights. His total life span is a hundred years; he is now in his fifty-first year. While Brahmā is asleep matter is in its unevolved state. When he wakes, creation takes place, that is, matter is differentiated into all its forms throughout the world. At the evening of Brahmā's day it regresses in a mighty dissolution of the worlds to its undifferentiated state to remain so throughout his night. The next morning creation takes place again. So the round continues. In a literal sense, then, the existence or non-existence of the universe depends upon Brahmā's wakefulness or sleep. When his eyes are closed at night there are no worlds; when they are open, the worlds exist. In slightly different terms, this belief may be said to mean that the universe exists only in the sight of God.

An interesting variation upon this idea of creation appears in the Mahābhārata XII. 348 = XII. 13547 ff. Here the neuter Nārāyaṇa (or Brahmā), sexless, lying in yoga on the Waters, in consciousness visualizes the world. From Nārāyaṇa's navel rises the lotus bearing Brahmā, which is Nārāyaṇa's consciousness, and has no *guṇa* but *sattva*. But the lotus also contains two drops of water, which become two demons (*dānava*), named Madhu and Kaiṭabha, expressing the other two of the three *guṇas*, namely *tamas* and *rajas*. Now Brahmā's first step in effecting creation is to create the four Vedas; this he has always done in previous creations. He, therefore, starts again to create the four Vedas. When the two Dānavas see him doing this, they quickly steal the Vedas and dive into the primal ocean to hide them. Then Brahmā goes to Nārāyaṇa, to say that the Vedas are his eyes, his strength, his refuge, his *brahma*. Without them the worlds he has been creating are covered with darkness and he can not effect creation. He repeats the statement that the Vedas are his eyes, and begs Nārāyaṇa to restore them to him. To do so Nārāyaṇa becomes incarnate in horse-headed form (Hayaśiras), and after a struggle with the Dānavas recovers the Vedas, and enables Brahmā to proceed with creation. Variants of this legend tell that a demon (*daitya*) named Hayagrīva carried off the Vedas at the time of Brahmā's most recent sleep. To recover them Vishnu assumed the form of a fish and regained them from the depths of the primordial ocean where they were concealed. In both versions of the legend the importance, for creation, of the eyes, here the Vedas, is paramount.

Creation once effected, in the mythology of the Purāṇas and much of modern Hinduism, two other personal deities, namely Vishnu as preserver and Shiva as destroyer, combine with Brahmā the creator in a trinity. In sectarian Hinduism, whether devoted to Vishnu or to Shiva, the deity around whom the ideology centers, assumes the functions of all three, and, when considerations of an impersonal first being behind these three personal deities are entertained, the chosen deity is identified with it also.

These remarks should have prepared us to consider the case of Devī, or, as designated at Madura, Mīnākṣī. She is the deity of the Śāktas, that is, those who are devoted to worship of the female principle *śakti* ('power') as the active force in the world. As such she transcends all other gods, in-

cluding the Trinity of the Purāṇas. With her power she also combines a great maternal tenderness, and her worshippers address her as 'Mother.' Since she is Shiva's wife, her cults belong to Shaiva sectarian Hinduism. Of the large literature in Sanskrit dealing with the worship of Devī as Śakti I wish to quote here only from a single one, known as the *Saundaryalaharī* ('Wave of Loveliness'), of which I have been preparing an edition. This work, containing about a hundred stanzas, is ascribed to Śaṃkarācārya, though the ascription is not certain. In it, though sectarian, as in many others of the same class, Devī is given a place superior even to that of Shiva himself. The first two stanzas of this work tell us:

śivaḥ śaktyā yukto yadi bhavati śaktaḥ prabhavituṃ
na ced evaṃ devo na khalu kuśalaḥ spanditum api
atas tvām ārādhyāṃ hariharaviriñcyādibhir api
praṇantuṃ stotuṃ vā katham akṛtapuṇyaḥ prabhavati (1)
tanīyāṅsaṃ pāṅsuṃ tava caraṇapaṅkeruhabhavaṃ
viriñciḥ saṃcinvan viracayati lokān avikalaṃ
vahaty evaṃ śauriḥ katham api sahasreṇa śirasāṃ
haraḥ saṃkṣubhyainaṃ bhajati bhasitoddhūlanavidhim (2)

'When united with his śakti, Shiva is able to exercise his powers as lord; otherwise the god is not so much as able to stir. Accordingly, how can one (the author) who has not acquired merit succeed in worshipping and praising you who are propitiated even by Vishnu (Hari), Shiva (Hara), and Brahmā (Viriñci)?

'The tiniest speck of dust from your lotus feet Viriñci collects and fashions into the worlds in their entirety. Śauri (Vishnu) barely succeeds in supporting it with his thousand heads. Hara (Shiva) shakes it to pieces and uses it in the way of dusting himself with ashes.'

Devī is addressed throughout the poem with such epithets as 'refuge of the worlds' (*śaraṇyā lokānām*). It is stated that at merely a slight flicker of her eyelash, Sadāśiva sets into motion the creative processes of the entire universe. She is described still more inclusively as containing all that is present in the universe:

manas tvaṃ vyoma tvaṃ marud asi marutsārathir asi
tvam āpas tvaṃ bhūmis tvayi pariṇatāyāṃ na hi paraṃ
tvam eva svātmānaṃ pariṇamayituṃ viśvavapuṣā
cidānandākāraṃ śivayuvati bhāvena bibhṛṣe (35)

'You are mind, you are space, you are wind, you are fire; you are the waters, you are the earth. When you have evolved [into these forms] there is nothing more. And you, young bride of Shiva, to evolve yourself in the form of the universe, bear by reason of your nature the form of consciousness and bliss.'

A little later in the poem we find Devī taking over the creative function mentioned above as Brahmā's, and at the time of a periodic creation she has to recreate the trinity of great gods who previously had been dissolved. This time it is *her* eyes, rather than his, which control the creation and dissolution of the worlds, and since they are three, like those of her husband Shiva—the third being in the center of the forehead—the poet sees in them the three qualities (*guṇas*) which permeate matter and their respective colors. The point is brought out in the following stanza:

vibhaktatraivarṇyaṃ vyatikaritanīlāñjanatayā
vibhāti tvannetratritayam idam īśānadayite
punaḥ sraṣṭuṃ devān druhiṇaharirudrān uparatān
rajaḥ sattvaṃ bibhrat tama iti guṇānāṃ trayam idam (53)

'This triad of your eyes, O beloved of Īśāna, with three different colors, in being associated with blue antimony, shines out to recreate the gods Druhiṇa (Brahmā), Hari (Vishnu), and Rudra (Shiva), who had been obliterated in the Great Dissolution; it bears in its colors this triad of the *guṇas*, namely, *rajas*, *sattva*, and *tamas*.'

Finally, two stanzas later in the poem we find a direct statement that, as in the case of Brahmā in Paurāṇic mythology, creation and dissolution depend upon the closing and opening of Devī's eyes.

nimeṣonmeṣābhyāṃ pralayam udayaṃ yāti jagatī
tavety āhuḥ santo dharaṇidhararājanyatanaye

tvadunmeṣāj jātaṃ jagad idam aśeṣaṃ pralayataḥ
paritrātuṃ śaṅke parihṛtanimeṣās tava dṛśaḥ
(55)

'From the closing and opening of your eyes the earth is dissolved and created, so say the wise, O daughter of the mountains' king. As if to save from dissolution this world which had its creation entire when you opened them, your eyes have ceased to close.'

This same stanza now gives us also the reason why the goddess does not close her eyes and so shows the highest significance of the name Mīnākṣī. The Great Mother, all mighty and all merciful, keeps her eyes ever open, as does a fish, because only then does the world exist and the creatures over whom she watches with a blend of infinite power and pity continue to live. The name under which she is honored at Madura recalls to the informed worshipper the basis of his deepest devotion.

One last point remains to be cleared up. We have seen why Hindu gods in general and Mīnākṣī in particular are believed not to close their eyes. But we have not dealt with the Hindu reason why fish never wink. Probably most of my readers know the physiological answer, which is that fish lack a nictitating eyelid and could not wink if they wished. Whether or not the ancient Hindus knew this anatomical fact concerning fish I do not know —I can only say that I have not chanced upon any passage in the literature to indicate that they did. But whether they knew it or not, the literature offers at least a psychological basis for the fishes' constant alertness. These creatures live in perpetual danger and dread. They have no ruler and no law; the great ever prey upon the small; each fish has to find safety through his own efforts; he cannot afford to relax his vigilance for an instant. So proverbial is this condition of fishes that it is used to describe anarchy in an evil and competitive world. For example, the *Kauṭilīya Arthaśāstra* in chapter IV, when justifying the need for government, says that when it is absent and no punishment is given to evil doers, 'the law of fishes prevails' (*mātsyanyāyam udbhāvayati*); for if there is no one to administer law the strong will swallow the weak. Many other passages could be cited with similar content. This law of the fishes is close to the conception of western political philosophers, such as Hobbes, of the 'state of nature' or 'law of beasts and birds.'[5] In such a world as fish live in they need to be open-eyed.

A Hindu poet cannot be expected to miss the opportunity afforded his power of conceit by the fishes' natural timidity, though he may profess that the reason is something besides the danger of being swallowed by a hungry larger fish. The author of the *Saundaryalaharī* does exactly that. In the stanza following the one last quoted above he alludes to the *śapharika* fish, which are noted as glistening while they dart about in the water and have become a stereotype with the poets for fishy beauty. These have gone into hiding from the gaze of Devī, though not from fear of being eaten. They hide because, beautiful as they are, they will not risk the taunts of the goddess's eyes, which are even more beautiful. And so they lurk in the distant water ever unwinking, like the goddess in the previous stanza. But though her eyes stay open in mercy, theirs keep from closing through fear. The text says:

tavāparṇe karṇe japanayanapaiśunyacakitā
nilīyante toye niyatam animeṣāḥ śapharikāḥ
iyaṃ ca śrīr baddhacchadapuṭakapāṭaṃ kuvalayaṃ
jahāti pratyūṣe niśii ca vighaṭayya praviśati
(56)

'O Aparṇā (one who performed her austerities without eating even leaves), the glittering *śapharika* fish, alarmed lest they be maligned (for inferior beauty) by your eyes which [are so long as to seem to] mutter tales in your ears, hide ever unwinking in the water. And Śrī here, when the blue night lotus folds up the cover of its petals at dawn, deserts it, and enters it [again only] at night when it reopens.'

In the end the fish come off second-best all around in the comparison with Devī's eyes. Though the fish do not wink, their failure to do so has none of the creative and destructive significance that accompanies the opening and closing of Mīnākṣī's eyes. And now the fishes' other quality, their beauty, ordinarily so superior to that of female eyes that it is a standard of comparison, is here described as so inferior to that of Devī's eyes that the fish slink away abashed and ashamed. For a moment the poet implies that he pities the fish.

[5] See article by Benoy Kumar Sarkar in *The Cultural Heritage of India*, n. d. (1937), vol. 3, p. 259 ff.

INDIGENOUS TAMIL GRAMMARS ON THE VERBS 'COME' AND 'GIVE'

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It is suspected by M. B. Emeneau (Lang. 21. 189) that the distinction in meaning: *ta* 'give to 1st or 2nd person' and *koṭu* 'give to 3rd person' is 'inconsistently carried through in literary Tamil as a survival, perhaps, of a thoroughgoing difference in early Tamil or in pre-Tamil.' Indigenous Tamil grammars confirm his suspicions. Tolkāppiyam, which perhaps dates back to the centuries immediately preceding the beginning of the Christian era and deals with many presumably pre-Tamil features (not represented in the extant Old Tamil texts) lays down the following rules in the first chapter of the morphological and syntactic division of the work known as Collatikāram:

celaviṉum varaviṉum taraviṉuṅ koṭaiyiṉum nilai peṟa ttōṉṟumannārcollum taṉmai muṉṉilai paṭarkkaiyeṉṉum ammūviṭattum uriyaveṉpa (rule 28). 'Learned men say that the four words *celavu, varavu, taravu* and *koṭai*, involving in themselves the significations of the place-contexts in which they are used, are employed in connection with the first, second and third persons.'

avaṟṟuḷ tarucol varucollāyiru kiḷaviyum taṉmai muṉṉilaiyāyīriṭatta (rule 29). 'Among these, the verbs "give" and "come" are used with the first and second persons.'

ēṉaiyiraṇṭum ēṉaiyiṭatta (rule 30). 'The remaining two verbs *cel* and *koṭu* are used in connection with the third person.'

The first among the above-cited rules is a general one in which the four verbs involving the meaning-distinctions are marked off, and the next two rules point out the distinctions themselves.

Illustrations:

eṉakku ttantāṉ 'he gave to me';
niṉakku ttantāṉ 'he gave to thee';
iṅku ttantāṉ 'he gave here';
eṉṉiṭam vantāṉ 'he came to me';
niṉṉiṭam vantāṉ 'he came to thee';
iṅku vantāṉ 'he came here';
avaṉkaṭ ceṉṟāṉ 'he went to him';
avaṟku kkoṭuttāṉ 'he gave to him';
āṅku cceṉṟāṉ 'he went there';
āṅku kkoṭuttāṉ 'he gave there.'

The idea of proximity, as in *iṅku*, is associated with the first and second persons, and that of remoteness, as in *āṅku* 'there,' with the third person.

Commentators on Tolkāppiyam cite exceptions to these rules from Old Tamil classics (chiefly those governing the use of *taru* and *varu*), and seek to justify the exceptions on the strength of the first among these rules, which they try to interpret as laying down the general proposition that the four verbs in question were used with all the three persons. One commentator, Teyvaccilaiyār, further 'refines' this forced interpretation by saying that the first rule embodied the opinion of grammarians before Tolkāppiyam, while the next two rules laid down the views of the author of Tolkāppiyam.

The 13th century indigenous Tamil grammar Naṉṉūl laid down the following rule, envisaging the peculiarities of the usage of the period:

taral varal koṭai celal cārum paṭarkkai eḻuvāy iraṇṭum eñciyavēṟkum. 'The verbs *taru, varu, koṭu* and *cel* are associated with the third person; the first two take on the remaining persons (i. e. the first and second persons).'

The commentators on Naṉṉūl explain the rule as saying that, while all the four verbs may take the third person, the verbs *varu* and *taru* are more suited for the first and second persons. The inference is also drawn that it would be at least unusual to use *koṭu* and *cel* with the first and second persons.

Modern colloquial usage in Tamil associates *taru* with the first and second persons, *varu* with the first and second persons, except in contexts like *avanukku vanda tuyaram* 'the affliction that came to him,' where the standpoint of the speaker is adjusted to that of the victim of the affliction, *koṭu* more or less indiscriminately with all three persons, and *pō* 'go' invariably with the third person (*cel* is not colloquially current).

The west coast speech, Malayāḷam, still preserves the Tolkāppiyam usage, in both the literary and the colloquial dialects: *taru* and *varu* are used only with the first and second persons, and *koṭu* and *cel* invariably with the third person.

Another subtle distinction in usage is envisaged by four rules in the last chapter of the Collatikāram ('Morphology and syntax') portion of Tolkāppiyam in respect of the verbs *ī*, *taru* and *koṭu*:

ī tā koṭu eṉakkiḻakkumūṉṟum iraviṉ kiḻavi ākiṭaṉ uṭaiya (rule 444). '*ī*, *tā* and *koṭu* express the request for something.'

avaṟṟuḷ ī eṉ kiḻavi iḻintōṉ kūṟṟē (rule 445). 'Among these, the form *ī* is used by a man of inferior status (when he begs of a superior).'

tā eṉ kiḻavi oppōṉ kūṟṟē (rule 446). 'The form *tā* is used by a man of equal status.'

koṭu eṉ kiḻavi uyarntōṉ kūṟṟē (rule 447). 'The form *koṭu* is used by a man of superior status.'

koṭu eṉ kiḻavi paṭarkkai āyiṉum taṉṉaippiṟaṉpōl kūṟum kuṟippiṉ taṉṉiṭattiyalum eṉmaṉar puluvar (rule 448). 'Scholars say that, though *koṭu* is used only with the third person, it may be used in connection with oneself if one refers to oneself in the third person.'

Illustrations:

uṭukkai ī 'deign to give me a (piece of) cloth';
āṭai tā 'give (my) dress';
ivaṟku ūṉ koṭu 'give food to this self,' uttered, for instance, by a master to a servant, when the former refers to himself in the third person.

The first among these rules marks off the verbs *ī*, *tā* and *koṭu* as the forms where the differences in question are involved, when used for entreaties, requests or orders, as the case may be.

The singular imperative forms are cited in the rules to emphasize the fact that primarily these differences apply to contexts where one person addresses another with a view to getting something which he requires. The relationship between the recipient and the giver becomes thus involved, and their relative status is adverted to by the appropriate verb even when forms other than singular imperatives are used, e. g. *nellittīṅkaṇi cātaṇiṅkavemakkīttaṉaiyē* 'thou gavest to us the sweet *nelli* fruit to obviate death.'

The last rule provides for an exception to the association of *koṭu* with the third person. This exception is inevitable when a person of superior status wants an inferior to give *him* something. Since a construction like *eṉakku kkoṭu* would be a direct breach of the rule of the association of person, and since *avaṟku kkoṭu* would not refer to the speaker in view of the use of the remote demonstrative, the illustration *ivaṟku kkoṭu* is given, where *ivaṟku* (the dative of the proximate demonstrative pronoun) would refer to the speaker himself in the third person.

This rule of Tolkāppiyam sanctioning the violation of the normal association of the third person with *koṭu* perhaps started the process culminating in the modern Tamil practice of indiscriminately using *koṭu* with all persons.

The Middle Tamil grammar Naṉṉūl adverts to the association of status in the third chapter ('Potuviyal') of the second division of the work:

ī tā koṭuveṉa mūṉṟumuṟaiyē iḻintōṉ oppōṉ mikkōṉ irappurai. '*ī*, *tā* and *koṭu* are respectively used by inferiors, equals and superiors.' The illustrations (supplied by commentators) are: *tantāy ī* 'O father! (deign thou to) give!' *tōḻā tā* 'O companion! give!' and *maintā koṭu* 'O son! hand over!' This grammar does not mention the exception (specifically laid down by Tolkāppiyam) to the rule of *koṭu*.

The rules of status are not observed for *taru* and *koṭu* in the literary and the colloquial dialects of modern Tamil. *ī* is not a colloquial word, but careful writers of Tamil use the term only in connection with recipients of an inferior status.

Malayāḷam does not observe the distinctions of status at all in the use of these words.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Modern Trends in Islam. By H. A. R. GIBB. Pp. xiii + 141. The Haskell Lectures on Comparative Religion. Chicago, Ill. *The University of Chicago Press,* 1947. $2.50.

Modernism is a word and a thing, which appeared in the Christian Churches, the Protestant and the Catholic, to indicate the striving of certain groups for reconciliation of religious tradition and contemporary thought and life. This striving was the result of the momentous shift which the progress of science, the Lockean and Kantian philosophy, the new historical method, and the spreading of democracy had brought about in the attitude of the thinking man towards religion. The same shift, although it was not spontaneous but was carried into the Moslem world from outside, is responsible for the rise of a modernistic trend in Islam. Professor Gibb is certainly right in maintaining that, contrary to a wide spread opinion, Islam never was static, and that from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century many important changes took place in its reaction to religion. The spreading of mystic practices among laymen and the success of Wahhābism are unmistakable evidence of the persistent tension which always exists within a living religion. However, the conflict was, in the past, between new and old ideas and tendencies in Islam itself. The dualism which gave way to the modern trends in Islam was due to the consciousness that Moslem civilization was losing ground under the overwhelming pressure of Christianity, and that something ought to be done in order to preserve its essential values. Protestant and Catholic modernism was a fight for the survival of the Christian religious ideology in a social environment which was turning away from it; in Islamic modernism the political factor is never absent, be it openly emphasized or silently accepted as an obvious premise.

For the father of Islamic modernism, Jamāl addīn al-Afghānī, the main issue was how Islam could resist the impact of the Western powers upon its traditional set-up; with Mohammed 'Abduh the religious and political issues were kept apart but he, too, was considering a reform which would allow Islam to live up to its past without the stigma of inferiority which the West attached to it.

Nothwithstanding certain differences in presenting their general aim and suggesting the means for its attainment, most Islamic modernists follow the same pattern, and try to refute the idea that the system of Islam is incompatible with a modern approach to philosophy, sociology and politics, and with progress along the lines of Western civilization. Gibb points out that the modernistic movement in Islam was restricted to a small minority of laymen, and hardly affected the minds of the traditionally trained ulemas and the popular masses. But is this not the case with all reformatory movements, in whichever country or time they happen to arise? The response of the masses is generally due to other factors, which failed to occur in the Moslem world.

Gibb is also right in blaming the modernists of Islam for the weakness of their theological and philosophical background, and has no difficulty, as one of the outstanding living experts on the Islamic past, in showing how ill founded, both in history and theology, are their attempts at proving the presence of an original "liberalism" and "rationalism" in Mohammed's preaching and the early practice of the Righteous Caliphs. However, he seems to be hardly correct in arguing that this distorted and confused view of the historical development and the conceptual set-up of Islam is mainly due to the influence of European Romanticism, and that Romanticism appealed to the Moslem mind because the Arab imagination, on which Islam is rooted, is atomistic and lacks the capacity for a synthetic approach to universal problems. The attempt at labeling a whole civilization under "racial" categories seems fallacious to this reviewer (if he has indulged in it in the past, he publicly disavowed his sins), and as far as the prevailing Western influence on Islamic modernism is concerned, he would think of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and the nineteenth century Positivism rather than of Romanticism. Enlightenment and Positivism were eagerly fostered in the French and English books which were read in the Moslem world during the

last decades of the nineteenth century and from which the Islamic modernists drew most of their historical and philosophical equipment. Romanticism may be responsible, although indirectly, for the rise of Islamic, as of all other nationalisms. But this is another story.

An immediate influence of the romantic brand of Western philosophy is only found in the most original among the Islamic modernists, the late Sir Mohammed Iqbāl, who gave, as Gibb properly remarks, " the only thoroughgoing attempt to reinstate the theology of Islam in modern immanentist terms," and boldly endeavored to interpret Sufism in term of Bergson's philosophy (p. 58, 81, 110). Curiously enough, Iqbāl's position is strongly reminiscent of that of the Catholic modernists, and had Islam possessed a central authority vested with the same power as the Roman Holy See, Iqbāl would have met, in all likelihood, the same sad fate as Fathers Tyrrell, Loisy, and Buonaiuti. Anyway, his effort, as theirs, has remained isolated and unproductive.

In spite, or because of his outspoken criticism of the intellectual shortcomings of the Islamic modernists, Gibb is fully sympathetic with their striving for reform. Although he openly professes acceptance of " the metaphors in which Christian doctrine is enshrined," he recognizes the high religious standard of Islam and admits that in the face of the tremendous problems which mankind as a whole is confronting in the present day " we of the West are fellow travellers " of the Moslems (p. xi-xii).

He also has a suggestion to offer and a hope to express: that the Moslems developing historical consciousness and adopting the historical method in their study of their past may recreate their own tradition along original lines, without borrowing their religious categories from outside. This sounds, indeed, much like the program formulated, almost half a century ago, by those Catholic modernists who were doomed to such a lamentable failure. This reviewer was utterly sympathetic to that program, the rise and collapse of which he witnessed as a young lad, and would much like to see it develop successfully among the Moslems. However, he doubts whether this will be feasible, unless some unexpected change takes place in the course of events. One of the most striking features in contemporary Islam is the fading out of those modernistic trends to which Gibb has devoted his study. Among the modernistic leaders whom he mentions, none is alive, and one would be at pains to point to any outstanding personality among their successors. In fact, in the minds of the intellectual classes in Moslem countries (the lower classes, obviously, are preserving their time-honored beliefs and practices and are likely to change them, if ever, only through a slow process of absorption) religion has either been superseded by nationalism or is used to bolster it. In this function the most traditionalist and conservative stand, rather than the progressive and reformistic trends, is found to fit better the purpose. Religion as an issue of universal bearing, its meaning for the philosophical and ethical attitude of the individual is neglected in the fact of its social and political purport. This phenomenon is nothing else than the reflex of what is happening in the West. Here, too, we find that the Islamic world, in the tremendous upheaval which it is undergoing, is still the recipient.

If certain appreciations and judgments in Gibb's book call for criticism, the soundness of its information and the charm of its presentation are unimpairable. Nothing less was to be expected from the Oxford professor who, a rare example among scholars, has scrutinized the ancient and modern aspects of Islamic civilization with the same methodical thoroughness, and, furthermore, is keenly aware of and responsive to the far reaching problems with which our civilization is confronted. Although limited to Egypt and India (the author modestly claims authority only on the former) its penetrating analysis holds good for the whole area of Islam.

G. Levi Della Vida

Deliver us from evil. Studies on the Vedic ideas of salvation. By STEN RODHE. Pp. 208. Lund: C. W. K. GLEERUP; Copenhagen: EJNAR MUNKSGAARD, 1946. (Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Sällskapet för Missionsforskning; Publications by the Swedish Society for Missionary Research, 2.)

This is primarily a sound and intelligent philological study of the words *mukti, mokṣa,* and — especially — the related verb *muñcati* (with inclusion of pertinent compounds, such as those with *ati-, nis-, pra-, vi-*) in Old Indic, from the Rigveda to the (older) Upaniṣads. The bulk of the work is divided into five chapters, each of which systematically treats one category of things from which 'freedom' or 'deliverance' was sought: II. General expressions; III. Human and superhuman enemies, diseases, curses; IV. Death; V. The cycle of existence; VI. Sin. A rather long introductory chapter which ends with a clear statement of the problem ('What is regarded as evil in the Veda? From what kinds of evil is deliverance sought?'), and a brief concluding chapter, are added. There is an elaborate bibliography; there are full indexes of Vedic quotations, of authors cited, and of 'some Vedic words for "evil" . . . and for "deliver" (or "be delivered from").' In the last, all references to *muñcati, mukti, mokṣa* are listed under a single heading, which also includes (without naming them) all compounds of these words. It would have been desirable to list separately references to the latter; we should like to be able quickly to find how e. g. *vimuñcati, vimokṣa,* and *vimukti* are used. P. 27 says that '*muñcati* is used with various prefixes without any change of sense: *nis-, pra-, vi-,* etc.' Perhaps this is true; I cannot disprove it; but I wish there were clearer evidence that the author made an earnest effort to find distinctions. I have long been puzzled by BṛhU. 3. 1. 5 ff. (M.), where a question is put with *atimucyate,* and answered with *sā* (K. and Śaṃkara *sa*) *muktiḥ, sā 'timuktiḥ.* Rodhe (99) renders 'is . . . delivered,' but 'This is deliverance, this is complete deliverance.' If the nouns are correctly rendered, the verb should be rendered 'is . . . *completely* delivered.' I am not sure of the answer; I merely note a problem, which seems to be ignored by Rodhe. He has distinguished predecessors; even Śaṃkara reproduces *atimucyate* by a simple *mucyate,* tho he struggles valiantly to distinguish *atimukti* from *mukti* (with what success I shall not undertake to say here).

But I have been unfair in devoting so much space to the one possibly serious defect (and I emphasize *possibly,* for I do not know that Rodhe or anyone could have proved clear distinctions of meaning between most compounds of *muc* and the simplex). The book makes a general impression of industry, care, and philological competence. And while the results are, inevitably, in large measure familiar, the collection and ordered arrangement of the materials is new, interesting, and worth while.

Rodhe brings out clearly that the evils from which deliverance was sought in the Saṃhitās and (generally) in the Brāhmaṇas relate to life in communities, and are roughly the sort of evils that social man (as distinguished from the hermit) all over the world wants to avoid. In the Upaniṣads (to some extent in the Brāhmaṇas) we find for the first time clear evidence for the existence of forest-dwellers, engaged in lonely meditation or some form of asceticism. At times (especially in 77 ff.) Rodhe seems even to deny to the Upaniṣads any interest in 'worldly' objects, such as men living in communities normally seek. The older Vedic texts, he says, are for the householder (*gṛhastha*), the Upaniṣads for the forest-dweller (*vānaprastha*). That there is much truth in this, few will deny. Yet surely there are passages in the oldest Upaniṣads, notably BṛhU., which show profound interest in the normal aims of a 'householder's' life; see JAOS 49. 109, fn. 22, and 111. Rodhe's flat assignment (79) of the two layers of Vedic texts (Saṃhitās vs. Upaniṣads) to different stages of life, *āśramas* in the later Hindu sense, seems to me an overstatement, yet to contain an important element of truth.

But Rodhe goes farther, and suggests that this 'distinction between an active life in the village with ritual and social duties, and a meditative stage in the forests' 'seems to be very ancient' (172). He thinks the 'meditative' forest-life is in origin probably pre-Aryan, and so non-Aryan, in India. So far as I can see, the only evidence on which he relies for this opinion (which of course is not new, as he recognizes) is the Mohenjo-Daro finds (statuettes, and at least one seal), which, as is well known, have been interpreted as representing attitudes of *yogins* (20, 173). There is no clear

evidence for the *vānaprastha* type of life in the Saṃhitās. Rodhe (21) dismisses with scant attention the few references (including 'the obscure Vrātya hymns in AV XV') which have been understood as pointing in that direction. But he suggests that the lack of such evidence may only mean that 'Saṃhitās and Brāhmaṇas are ritual texts, intended for the social life of the village; the Upaniṣads are meditative texts, intended for the solitary life in the forest' (79). To be sure, this is qualified: '. . . it should not be denied, of course, that the historical development has also had great influence. The Brāhmaṇas [Rodhe recognizes them as intermediate, tho 'much nearer to the Saṃhitās'] and Upaniṣads reflect a time of more settled conditions than the times of invasion. . . . They, and the whole *āśrama* system, must be the products of lives with plenty of leisure. . . . Probably from the earlier inhabitants of India the Aryans learnt the methods of meditation, and on this foundation a system was created, ending in a stage of life, when the evils of ordinary life were not feared' (79-80). In the concluding chapter I have not noted any repetition of this bow in the direction of historical evolution. Nor can I discover any in the Introduction, where we find instead (18) a polemic against 'the too simple solutions of evolutionism.' In both introduction and conclusion, 'it has appeared most convenient to see the ideas against the background of the orthodox theories of the life of a Brahman' (172), i. e. of the *āśramas*. This approach is interesting, and, as I observed above, it contains elements of truth. Combined with the qualification cited above from 79-80, Rodhe's entire theory could apparently be paraphrased as follows: In the times of the Saṃhitās, the Aryans seem from our evidence to have known only the life of the 'householder.' But even in that time, some of the aboriginal inhabitants of India practised meditation in the forest. By the time of the Upaniṣads, the Aryans had learned this custom from them.

Stated in this form (and I hope I am not misrepresenting the author), the theory seems to me highly speculative; I am afraid I must call it guesswork. The meaning of the Mohenjo-Daro figures is not certain; Hauer (Glaubensgeschichte der Indogermanen I, 273) argues vigorously, and it seems to me effectively, against the interpretation adopted by Rodhe. But even if the latter be accepted, it would not seem to me to go far towards proving Rodhe's theory, in the absence of other evidence; and Rodhe himself seems to place no reliance on arguments from the Vrātyas and the like.

All the more creditable is the fact that, so far as I have noted, his book contains not a trace of any tendency to twist the philological evidence so as to make it support his theory. Almost the entire contents of the book are strictly and reliably philological. The above-mentioned theory seems to be attached to it quite externally, and does not seriously affect its usefulness.

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Japanese Prints of the Primitive Period in the Collection of Louis V. Ledoux. Catalogue by the Owner with 20 plates in full color and thirty in half-tone. Published by E. WEYHE, New York, 1942.

Japanese Prints by Harunobu and Shunshō in the Collection of Louis V. Ledoux. Catalogue by the Owner with 8 plates in full color and forty-four in half-tone. Published by E. WEYHE, New York, 1945.

For some twenty years, the interest in Japanese color prints has steadily declined. The reasons for this change in attitude are rather complex. For more than half a century the West had looked upon these graphic works as the *non plus ultra* of Far Eastern art. When it was learned that they were the off-shoot of something much greater, and older, viz. Japanese painting, our attention was directed toward that; and with the realization how strongly Japanese art was dependent on China, and the "discovery" of Chinese art, the Japanese color print became almost forgotten, execpt by a small circle of collectors and scholars.

This is a deplorable situation; for among the artists engaged in the color print were men of exceptional qualities. When we ignore their work, we stupidly deprive ourselves of pleasure and that

deep satisfaction that comes from looking at a beautiful thing.

No one in this country has done more to remedy this unfortunate state of things than Louis V. Ledoux. Circumstances and disposition very happily qualified him for this job: he is a discerning collector and connoisseur; he sincerely loves his prints; and he has the scholarly spirit which drove him to learn all about the Japanese color print. Nothing characterizes him better than his determination to keep his collection at 250 pieces; he tried to improve the quality of his collection rather than to augment it for some twenty years, and has succeeded in doing so. He wrote a catalogue of his prints, and is publishing it for these reasons: "In the past these prints have been loved separately by others; for a moment they are together, dear to me; and before the storms of time scatter them, as well they may, their loveliness should be recorded for the study and solace of those who care for beauty in the years that are to come."

But writing a valuable catalogue calls less for enthusiasm than for discrimination and a considerable amount of special knowledge; Ledoux possesses these prerequisites. The first volume of the catalogue deals with 50 prints of the so-called Primitives, and includes works from Moronobu to Torii Kiyotsune. The text follows a simple pattern: after a short biography of the artist, the several prints are described as to subject matter, date, state and provenience; such problems as may arise in connection with any one of these topics are discussed.

After dealing with some prints by Moronobu and the rediscovered Sugimura Masataka whose style is scarcely, if at all, discernible from Moronobu's, Ledoux comes to the masters of the Torii School. The prints signed Kiyonobu and Kiyomasu inevitably raise the question of who is who in this clan of artists.

There is no doubt that the founder of the School was Torii Kiyonobu I, and that he lived from 1664 till 1729. Many prints, obviously contemporaneous with those by Kiyonobu I, are signed Torii Kiyomasu. These two signatures occur also on prints that by style and subject matters must be ascribed to a younger generation. Ledoux, "following what seem the most reasonable assumptions," thinks that Kiyonobu I had a son who was born in 1694, called himself Kiyomasu, and died in 1716; someone, probably another son of Kiyonobu I, and born in 1702, assumed the name of Kiyomasu after 1716, and signed his works so till the retirement (1727) or death (1729) of Kiyonobu I. After that year he called himself Kiyonobu, thus becoming Kiyonobu II. "On this theory prints signed Kiyomasu which appeared between the end of 1716 and the dates last mentioned, and those which bore the Kiyonobu name from 1727 or 1729 until 1752, when the second Kiyonobu died, are by one artist." (It must be explained that the Torii masters almost exclusively published portraits of actors in their rôles; and that with the help of the theatrical records the date when an actor appeared in a certain rôle can be determined.) That would mean that Kiyonobu II and Kiyomasu II were one and the same person, and this is undoubtedly correct. But this artist did not die in 1752, but in 1763; and he was not born in 1702, but in 1706. Fritz Rumpf, whose "*Meister des japanischen Farbenholzschnittes,*" Berlin, 1924, is not mentioned by Ledoux, points out that the *Ukiyoga jinden* records that Kiyonobu II died on the 2. II. 1763; that the *Meijin kishin roku* and the *Nihon jimmei jisho* record the 2. II. 1763 as the date of Kiyomasu's death and give his age as 58 years (Rumpf, p. 16).

The idea that this artist signed Kiyomasu till 1727 or 1729, and afterwards Kiyonobu is not borne out by the prints. His portrait of Ichikawa Danjūrō V as Ya no ne Goro in the tragedy *Mirabashira Taiheiki* which was played at the Nakamura in 1740, is signed Kiyomasu (*Cat. Straus-Negbaur,* nr. 24, Pl. xvi); and so is the portrait of the dancer Yoshida Manshirō of Osaka who appeared in Edo in 1745-1746 (*ibid.* nr. 28); there is also the portrait of Segawa Kikunojō I as Kusunoha in the play *Ashiya Doman O-Uchi Kagami*; he played this rôle at the Nakamura in 1737 (*ibid.* nr. 27, pl. v). In short, this artist who lived from 1706-1763 signed his prints alternately Kiyonobu and Kiyomasu; it is very likely that he used the name Kiyonobu not before Kiyonobu I, in all probability his father-in-law retired in 1727.

The famous print showing Nakamura Senya in the female rôle in which he appeared at the end of 1716 (nr. 13), is signed by Kiyomasu. It is plainly not the work of a boy of ten years; Ledoux proposes to see in it the last work of the "Kiyomasu (1694-1716)" who had died in the summer of that year. To explain the discrepancy in time,

he thinks that the print was ordered ahead of time. Rumpf, however, has made it pretty certain that there was no such person, and that it was Kiyonobu I who sometimes signed and sealed his prints Kiyomasu. This is borne out by a few works that in one state are signed Kiyonobu, in another Kiyomasu; e. g. one representing Watanabe no Tsuna fighting a devil near the Rashomōn signed and sealed Kiyomasu (v. Seidlitz, *Geschichte des jap. Farbenholzschnittes,* 2nd ed., 1910, Abb. 11 (Koechlin Coll.)); the same prints, signed and sealed Kiyonobu (*Straus-Negbaur Cat.* nr. 16, Pl. iv). A print in the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek, Berlin, representing the actor Murayama Heiemon (or Takii Hanshirō who lived at the same time), is signed Kiyonobu and bears the seal of Kiyomasu. Style, and the professional activity of the represented definitely put the print in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

Only 39 prints by artists of the Kaigetsudō group are known, and of them six are in the Ledoux Collection: two by Kaigestudō Anchi, three by Kaigetsudō Dohan, one by Kaigetsudō Doshin. All these artists were pupils of Kaigetsudō Ando who painted courtesans with exceptionally sweeping lines. Ando worked in the last third of the seventeenth century. It is not yet quite certain whether he or his pupils introduced those extremely broad strokes that are so characteristic of their works. It was a style that lent itself very well to reproduction by wood cutting. For some time, even Kiyonobu-Kiyomasu I fell under its spell, as can be seen in the magnificent nr. 11 of this catalogue; in fact, Kiyonobu was much better at it than any of the three Kaigetsudōs.

The second volume presents another 50 prints, 33 by Harunobu (1725-1770), the rest by Shunshō (1726-1793). Around 1764 Harunobu rose to great fame as a designer of youth, and his fame has lasted to our day. It is due mainly to the grace and charm he lent his girls; and to the fact that his woodcuts were printed with four and more color plates. He is, therefore, often credited with the perfection of color printing. It seems, however, that he benefited rather by, than contributed to, the development of the technique. It is recorded that a third color plate was added to the first two (red and green) by the cutter Yoshida Gyosen, who also introduced blind pressing; the fourth plate is said to have been added by the printer Kinroku. The man who was most vividly interested in the perfection of color printing was not an artist or artisan, but a scholar and writer, Hiraga Gennai. He lived next door to Harunobu who was his close friend. It is a fair assumption that he encouraged the painter more than anybody else to put the new technique at the service of his art. At any rate, it is strange that Harunobu's success came only after his fortieth year; and came only with his color prints. It looks as if Harunobu had lived between twenty and forty as a painter of young people, probably well known though not excessively admired; the newly discovered media gave him the possibility to reach a public immensely larger and more appreciative than that who liked his pictures. So great was his fame that it tempted Shiba Kōkan (1747-1818) to bring out a number of prints in Harunobu's manner, after the master's death. Shiba Kōkan leaves no doubt about it, for he writes in his *Memoirs*: ". . . and entered the studio of Sō Shiseki (1703-1780). This was at the time when the Ukiyo-e painter Suzuki Harunobu created his admirable pictures of woman. He (Harunobu) fell ill at the age of over forty, and suddenly died. I painted then pictures in his manner, had them cut in wood and printed, and nobody recognized the deception. Everyone took my works for prints by Harunobu. This made me feel like sinning against Harunobu. Therefore I called myself Harushige." The vexing part of the story is that we do not know when repentance overtook Shiba Kōkan; in other words, when he stopped publishing unsigned prints that his and Harunobu's contemporaries mistook for the master's own ones. Shiba's words make it certain that nr. 31 of the Ledoux Collection, which is often ascribed to him, is really a print by Harunobu.

For the catalogue of Shunshō's prints, Ledoux had the opportunity of using an unpublished work by F. W. Gookin on that artist.

The two volumes are mines of information; they are also the most beautiful books on Japanese color prints for the color plates are the best reproductions I have ever seen.

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Die Mode der Han- und Chin-Zeit. By ALIDE and WOLFRAM EBERHARD. Pp. 127. Antwerp: DE SIKKEL, 1946.

Sulâleler Nasıl Kurulurdu? Çin Tarihinin bir Problemi (How were dynasties founded? A problem in Chinese history). Dil ve Tarih Coğrafya Fakültesi Dergisi, vol. 3, no. 4, pp. 361-376. *Bir Kaç Eski Türk Ünvani Hakkında* (Some ancient Turkish titles). Belleten, pub. by TÜRK TARİH KURUMU BASIMEVİ, Ankara, vol. 9, 1945, pp. 319-40. *Eski Türk Devleterinin Ekonomisi Hakkında Incelemeler* (Details concerning the economy of ancient Turkish Countries): [1] *Toba'ların Hayvancılığı* (Animal husbandry among the Tobas), *ibid.*, pp. 485-96. [2] *Toba'larda Ziraat* (Agriculture among the Tobas), *ibid.*, vol. 10, 1946, pp. 81-96. [3] *Toba'larda Köle Usulü* (Slavery among the Tobas), *Toba'larda Ulaştırma* (Transportation among the Tobas), *Baskentin Nakli* (The transfer of the capital). By W. EBERHARD. *Ibid.*, pp. 255-70.

In the book first listed, Prof. and Mrs. Eberhard put together the available information concerning Chinese dress and personal adornments from Han to Dzin times (iii cent. B. C. to v cent. A. D.). The earlier Jou period, about which little can be known, is also considered, so that this book is a compendium of Chinese dress in the pre-Tang period. The various types of garments and adornments are taken seriatim. For each there is discussed: (1) the description in ancient Chinese treatises, (2) its history, with changes in style, (3) for what purposes it was used, and (4) the available ancient representations. In this manner there are treated garments (ch. I), hats and other head-gear, together with hair-arrangements and ornaments (ch. II), foot-wear (ch. III), and facial adornments (ch. IV). There follow lists of what was worn by persons of various ranks (ch. V), a table of the most important changes in styles (ch. VI), and a table of the translations used for technical Chinese words (ch. VII). There is appended a bibliography of 119 titles (curiously enough, he omits H. Maspero, "La vie privée à l'epoque des Han," *Revue des arts asiatiques*, 1931, 185-201, which contains a few items Eberhard has overlooked), a dozen ancient Chinese representations of dress, etc., and an index. This book is the most comprehensive account of Chinese dress in any occidental language and deserves wide circulation.

The journal articles are in Turkish, with summaries in German, for, during the war, Dr. Eberhard became Professor of Chinese at Ankara. The first article analyzes the means by which Chinese popular leaders (as distinguished from members of the bureaucracy) reached the imperial throne. This circumstance occurred only thrice in Chinese history (the founders of the Former Han, the Later Liang, and the Ming dynasties). In times of unusual economic difficulty, when the gentry press hard upon their tenants and part-tenants, some peasants leave the land and take to the mountains, becoming "bandits." The gentry meet their attacks either by (a) paying subventions to these "bandits," who in return protect from other "bandit" bands, or (b) by military attacks upon the "bandits." A successful "bandit" leader may unite various "bandit" bands, and, as a result of successful raids, may acquire wealth and control over a large area. Thereupon he assumes the bureaucratic title of "generalissimo" or "king," etc., turns his "bandits" into his "army" and ceases plundering, enriching his men instead from the taxes of this area. So a new dynasty is founded. The leaders of the former "bandits" now become members of the gentry.

The old dynasty may now (a) put its power into the hands of some general who attacks the new dynasty. But this general inevitably cherishes also the possibility of putting himself into the place of the old dynasty. Or (b) the old dynasty may attempt to subvert some leader of the new dynasty, promising to support and reward him. Hence the founder of a new dynasty mistrusts his former associates and comes to depend more and more upon the gentry. Thus the gentry retain their power, even tho the rebellion was originally directed against them. Dr. Eberhard illustrates this process from the Later Liang and Ming dynasties. He might have equally well used the Former Han dynasty, except that there is less detailed information about it.

The second journal article points out that the title "Khan" is earlier than Shiratori (*Toyo Bunko*, no. 1) asserts and had a different meaning, being originally a suffix. "Il-khan" or "Ilek-

khan" appears first about 250, as a part of names. "Tarkan," which is evidenced about 400, seems to go back to "Tar-khan," in which *tar* means "cultivated land" (*tarim, tarla,* etc.). "Tardu" appears in 380. "Är-khan" or "ärk-khan" appears about 300, and does not mean "khan of men (er-khan)." It is to be connected with cultivated fields. "Burhan" had originally nothing to do with Buddha, and appears about 300. Shiratori's oldest evidence for "Khagan" is incorrect, for the first two leaders of the T'u-yü-hun and the leader of the Juan-juan were not entitled "Khagan," but "Ch'u-khagan." The Chinese interpretation of *ch'u* is meaningless; better is the transcription *çöl* or *cöllük* (desert land). "Çöl-khan" is evidenced about 300. It is also found in the first Toba title, "Sha-mo-han," in which the first two syllables are the Chinese word for "desert," while the third is for "khan." The last syllable of these titles, "khan," is sometimes written *yü* or *hou. Hou* appears to be the Chinese word for "count." The ancient Hsiung-nu speech seems to have altogether lacked the expression "kan." Titles in this language are transcribed with *-yü, -ku, -hou*; Sien-bei titles with *-yen, lin, -lien,* & *kui(hui)*; Toba titles with *-ling, -chen, -ken, -han,* etc.; and later Juan-juan titles with *-pa, -fa, -t'i.* The present Turkish suffix *-ci* (meaning "the one who"), which is evidenced among known Turkish peoples, such as the Ting-ling, is not found among the Toba, who used *-chen.* Thus it appears possible that in the Hsiung-nu title "Shan-yü (iii cent. B. C.) the *-yü* had the same function as *-kan*(Khan) in later titles.

The three groups of articles dealing with the Toba are products of Dr. Eberhard's work on a forthcoming book: "Das Toba-Reich in Nordchina." In the first, he discusses the effect of cattle-husbandry upon their history. With success, the plundered cattle were divided among the Toba nobility and were grazed near the capital. But the needs of the increasing (mostly Chinese) grain-eating bureaucracy demanded the cultivation of the area about the capital. The noble Toba accordingly became landlords of tenants who produced grain. Their herds were moved west. The transfer of the capital to Loyang, in the center of grain cultivation, impoverished the noble Tobas, because their herds were now too distant from the market. The Toba commoners were also impoverished, because they could no longer dispose of their produce. The resulting conflict broke the Toba realm into two parts and destroyed their cattle husbandry.

The second article discusses the economic situation of the Tobas after their conquest of China. Instead of enslaving the Chinese, they were used as producers of taxes and the Chinese gentry were retained as tax-gatherers. Soon the civil bureaucratic positions were filled with Chinese and the Tobas were confined to military positions. At first the Toba leaders were wealthy from their plunder. But when their wealth had been expended in long fruitless wars with south China, they became impoverished, whereas the Chinese gentry in the bureaucracy became wealthier than the Tobas.

Concerning slavery, Eberhard points out that in their early period, the Toba leaders took large numbers of slaves, but these were mostly "Hunnish" and non-Chinese. After 430, no more slaves were taken, for the conquered Chinese were not enslaved. The Chinese gentry, whose power depended upon their tenants, persuaded the Toba leaders that more income could be derived from taxation of peasants than from private slaves held by Toba noblemen. The law of 485, that each slave should have as much land as a woman, was really a method of reckoning taxes. By this time, the number of agrarian slaves held by Toba gentry had already decreased greatly. With the transfer of the capital, their slave-agriculture lost its value, since the costs of transportation to this new center of consumption were greater than the value of the produce. While in the early period (before 430) slaves had been important in production, especially in herding cattle, thereafter they were unimportant.

To the transfer of the capital from northern Shansi to Loyang, the Toba gentry were opposed. They were overruled by the Chinese gentry, whose property was in eastern China, from which their grain could conveniently be transported to the capital by water. These lands were moreover not sufficiently near the new capital to be endangered by cattle grazing near this place.

Concerning transportation, data are given regarding the difficulties of transporting grain to the old capital and the many attempts to reform and cheapen it, all of which proved unavailing. Hence the transfer of the capital proved economical.

Dr. Eberhard is perhaps the most outstanding of present-day younger German sinologists. His

repudiation of Hitler caused his voluntary exile. It is greatly to be regretted that he should have found refuge only in a country where he has been compelled to write in such an ill-known language as Turkish. For the sake of sinology, he should be brought to a place where he and his work can be better known and read.

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E. A. SPEISER, *Introduction to Hurrian.* Reprinted from Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, Vol. XX (1940-41), xxx + 230 pp.

It is with no little embarrassment that the reviewer approaches his present task. Ordinarily one is asked to write a review because he chances, or is supposed, to know something about the subject, but this instance seems to form an exception to the rule. I have been asked to discuss this scantily known tongue from the standpoint of the Caucasian languages, which are themselves, in not a few respects, a *terra incognita.*

There is always a certain danger in using one obscure tongue to unlock the secrets of a second recondite idiom. Comparisons of individual words are *ignes fatui,* all the more so because cases of actual borrowings may occur. The Vannic *pili* (flume, irrigation ditch—k'eriz) was not only taken over into Georgian as *mili,* but also, which is less generally known, survived on the spot in the Armenian dialect of Van as փըղ *p'əγ*; pl. փըղ*ր, p'əγén.*[1]

In the second place, we must bear in mind the wide stretch of time intervening between the inditing of the two groups of documents which we are seeking to compare. Our Hurrian documents belong to the latter part of the second millennium B. C. They are, except for Tušratta's letter, mere fragments and *disiecta membra* written in a script ill adapted to represent the phonetic characteristics of Hurrian. These must be compared with other documents wholly diverse in nature, written, at the earliest, 1700 to 1800 years later, if we take the earliest Georgian inscription as falling in the sixth century A. D.[2] with its Armenian counterparts in the seventh.[3] Should we seek to bring into the picture data from the non-literary languages of the Caucasus, we must add another millenium to the score.

A third peril arises when a group of languages rather than a single one is taken as a touchstone. We may easily lump together diverse branches of speech which are in reality unconnected and merely stand in geographical juxtaposition with each other. The phonetic, grammatical and syntactical characteristics of the northeastern, northwestern and southern groups of Caucasian languages diverge so greatly, that I at least hesitate to believe that they are derived from one common antecedent stock. Moreover, any detailed knowledge of them which I possess is confined to the southern branch, and from it my deductions in the main must perforce be drawn.

If we then disregard the comparison of individual words and roots as an uncertain though attractive approach to the problem, a somewhat different line of attack seems to offer more fruitful possibilities. This is afforded by the syntax and structure of the language, many of whose striking peculiarities in this sphere find their counterpart in things Caucasian. N. A. Veselovskii once sagely remarked[4] that cultural phenomena tend to arise in parallel but unrelated series; this possibility must be borne in mind, but the facts are there. Linguistic and structural patterns reappear

[1] This information came from an (ephemeral) Armenian journal called *Masis* = Ararat, a copy of which came into my hands years ago, and was confirmed at the time by inquiries among emigrants from that area.

[2] The inscriptions of Ban and Mc'khet'; cf. I. A. Javaschišvili, Akhlad aghmoč'enili udzvelesi k'artuli khelt'nacerebi da mat'i mnišvneloba mec'nierebisa t'vis. Bull. Tifl. Univ. 2 (1923), 319-391, esp. p. 324 f.

[3] Inscr. of Bagavan; see I. A. Orbeli, Bagavanskaya nadpis' p. 639 idrugiya armyanskiya ktitorskiya nadpisi VII-70 veka. Khristianskiĭ Vostok, II (1913), 105-142.

[4] Cited by I. Iu. Kračkovskiĭ, Divān Abu-l'Wāwā. Petrograd, 1916. Introduction p. 1 f. It was a casual remark in a lecture, as came out in the discussion when the author defended his dissertation.

in both cases, even though their cellular structure seems to be filled with a different semantic protoplasm. This fact has emboldened the reviewer to enter some observations which are probably more concerned with the Caucasian languages than they are with the tongue upon which he is supposed to discourse.

A careful survey of the phonetics and phonology of Hurrian as set forth by Speiser (pp. 11-68) fails to reveal any phenomena with cogent parallels in Caucasian. In all three branches of the latter group the dominant element in word formation is the consonant, just as in Semitic, and not the vowel. This is certainly not the case in Hurrian. Whether long vowels which occur in some of the southern languages, or their dialects,[5] go back to a Pre-Caucasian stratum, I do not undertake to say, but such observations as I have made seem to show that they do not and are a secondary (resp. dialectal) phenomenon. The characteristic explosive consonants of the Caucasian languages, which are generally accompanied by glottal constriction,[6] could not be represented in cuneiform; basically speaking likewise these Caucasian tongues do not shift the type of consonant as the result of the preceding or following vowel. The Hurrian vocalic series and alternates evince no kinship with their Caucasian opposite numbers, so far as we can discern. The tendency in south Caucasian at least is for dental consonants to split by fission in the first part of the word into a palatalized form plus a glottal stop (*ṭ* > *čq* // *čq* : *ṭ'k'* // *č'x*); it seems to have no analogy in Hurrian.

A kindred set of phenomena, arising directly out of those mentioned above, bear upon the question of assimilation and dissimilation. As is well known, assimilation may or may not be graphically represented and the one or the other may be excluded upon formal grammatical grounds, but fundamentally they come about through the juxtaposition with no intervening *šᵉwa* of two consonants belonging to a voiced and unvoiced series. There are in Georgian a number of cases where we find pausal assimilation especially in the numerals, e. g., at' + sam + meti—13 is regularly written *acʻameli* (cʻ = t' + s); at' + šüd + meti —17 is *ačʻüdmeti*; in nouns *šisi* fear for *šiši, žežťa* 'upper' for *zešťa,* in addition to other instances adduced by I. Qip'šidze.[7] Dissimilation of *r* to *l,* where two *r*'s occur in the same word,[8] is also frequent. These phenomena, however, are restricted in their scope, and in the main the Caucasian languages do not change the type of consonant, as seems to be the case in Hurrian.

The (south) Caucasian root is normally triliteral, like the Semitic, though in some cases the third radical evidently forms an extension. In Hurrian, however, we have a different pattern, due on the one hand to the influence of the cuneiform script, and on the other, to the monosyllabic, agglomerative character of the language. Once here again the series and categories of the two do not correspond.

A final point concerns the vocalization. In practically all of the southern group of Caucasian languages the vowel quality and articulation depend upon the character of the preceding consonant, and hence do not oscillate, as it appears to do in Hurrian. We have, it is true, some variations, which in some cases are graphic and in others phonomatic, in some instances in old Georgian, where the relative stability of the graphies o / w (consonantal) / ü vowel implies clearly the existence of a differentiated series of labio-velars, which in modern Georgian have fallen together into v.[9] No oscillation of vocalic color exists in flectional endings in Georgian, in contrast to the apparent state of affairs in Hurrian.[10]

If, however, the likenesses are scant and few in the phonetics of the two languages, a much more fruitful field opens up in the morphology. A certain parallelism is evident in the declension of the noun, which may be apparent rather than real, as the individual endings evince no recognizable mutual connection. It is in the verbal forms that we find something akin to the protean action-

[5] E. g. Swanet'ian and in the Rača dialect of Imeret'ia.

[6] The soft č has, as far as I can hear, no constriction.

[7] I. A. Qip'šidze, Assimilac'ia da dissimilac'ia k'art'ul enaši. Bull Tifl. Univ. I, 1 ff.

[8] *Čurčeri,* vessel, utensils, even in the oldest mss. is found as *čurčeli.* The word is a *pilpil* form of Čuri, vase, jar.

[9] In the more carefully written older ms. *dacva* he lay, and *dacua* he burnt, are clearly differentiated; *sazghvari* border, frontier and *ghuari* (a group) of clans, likewise. Cf. Harv. Theol. Rev. 1928, pp. 296-7.

[10] The umlaut in Swanet'ian has been thoroughly investigated by Šanidze: Arili (Festschr. für I. Dschawachow) Tp'ilisi, 1925, 171-231 and discussed by Deeters, Das kharthwelische Verbum, 1930, pp. 17-19. It is clearly a secondary phenomenon.

ability of Hurrian verbs and nouns. For this exact counterparts can be found in the various Caucasian languages. In Georgian every verb can be used as a noun, and in modern Georgian, at least, every noun can become a verb. The Georgian infinitive (*masḍar*) is a verbal noun, fully declined according to the nominal scheme, and can be used with both nominal and verbal signification, as is shown by the case in which the dependent noun is placed, either genitive or dative = objective case. *Sitquay* means both λέγειν and λόγος; in addition we have a series of deverbative forms, which supplement or replace the infinitive. Infinitives are not derived as in Semitic from the various verbal aspects; thus we have *k'mnay*—facere, but *ak'mnay* 'to put to work'—used of money put out at interest—does not occur, nor do these forms have temporal connotations. A second phenomenon akin to Hurrian consists in that we have in Georgian a different regimen for various groups of tenses. Reduced to the simplest terms, these are:

1) Direct forms. Present, imperfect, conditional, neg., imper.
   Subject (nominative) acts on object (dative).
2) Agentive (pronominal dative) acts upon object (nominative)
   Aorist, future, positive imperative and permansive (customary).
3) Reflexive. Pluperfect, future subjunctive.
   Subject (dative) acts upon object (nominative).

Theoretically these forms are present in all verbs, but the direction and impact are varied by being combined with aspects (*sensu semitico*) denoted by a prefixed vowel, which change the manner of the action expressed in the stem. These are according to the usual terminology:

1) -o- Simple
2) -a- Causative
3) -i- Passive
4) -e- Reflexive

Categories 1 to 3 employ the agentive in the past tenses with certain exceptions; category 4 does not.

The most striking parallel in the field of verbal syntax is the use of the construction which has been termed ergative or, as Speiser prefers to call it, agentive. This has commonly been interpreted as a passive form because of its regimen. The Georgian has, however, regular passive forms, where the agent is put in the instrumental case if inanimate, and employs a preposition if animate. We must assume, therefore, if we adopt the hypothesis of a passive origin for this type of construction that the Georgian verb had at one time a passive form which came to be used in the active voice and that the language later on independently developed a new type of passive construction. But the ergative is confined fundamentally to transitive verbs and appears in the causative aspect of verbs which are intransitive in the simple stem. Some forms, moreover, which are externally passive in type are transitive in meaning. Obviously, the hypothesis of a passive origin for the aorist-ergative tenses in Georgian encounters difficulties in all directions and must be jettisoned without further ado.

The solution of the problem as to how it originated must be deduced from the functions of the verbal forms themselves. In this connection some very important work has been done of late by Akaki Šanidze, whose analysis of Georgian verbal categories has done much to clear up obscurities in their use.[11] First of all Šanidze has called attention to the fact that Georgian originally had a middle voice whose forms later on formally coalesced with those of the passive. Originally, as the Khanmeti texts show, the middle forms had, like their causative counterparts, a -χ- prefixed to the *i* (the class marker, to use Speiser's terminology). What Šanidze did not observe, however, is

[11] Šanidze's articles.

1. The category of the series in the verb. General question of the formations of verbs from examples in the Georgian language (Preliminary Statement), Bull. de l'Institut Marr de langues, d'histoire et de culture matérielle X (1941), 209-239 (Russ.).
2. On the question of transitive verbs in the Georgian Languages. Bull. Geor. Acad. Sci. I, II, III, 2 (1942), 183-189, III, 3 (1942), 289-298. Geor. with Russian Summary.
3. Concerning the origin of the post-position-*mde*, Bull. Ac. Sc. Geor. SSR III, 4 (1942), 367-72. Geor. with Russ. summary.
4. The change of the system of expression of the category of the verbal aspect in Georgian and its Results, Bull. of Geor. Ac. Sc. III, 9 (1942), 953-958 (Russ.).
5. Active and passive in their relations to each other from the standpoint of the multi-objective Verb, Bull. of Acad. of Sci. of the Georgian SSR N, 4 (1943), 375-382 (Geor. w. Russian summary).
6. On the Theory of Series (Skriv) I. The peculiarities of the formation of the three series in Old Georg., Bull. acad of sc. geor. SSR VI, 10 (1945), 835-844. (Geor. w. russ. summary.)

that the true passive forms were devoid of the consonantal Ansatz. He was inclined to attribute their absence to a gradual loss by attrition enhanced by the fact that the center of literary activity tended to drift into another dialectal milieu. The identification of the middle voice, however, made it clear that the primary criterion for the employment of the agentive-ergative was that the verb should itself be transitive and was not primarily dependent upon the temporal connotations of the form itself.

The next step was to redetermine the categories by which the multiplex forms of the Georgian verb should be ordered. Ordinarily these had been divided up upon a temporal basis following the scheme employed in the grammars of the Indo-European languages. Šanidze, however, has advanced weighty arguments to draw the fundamental line of cleavage in accordance with the stage of the action expressed, which he divides into incomplete, complete and by hearsay (*zaočnyi*). The advantage of this division is that it explains why the permansive (customary form) takes the ergative construction. Šanidze has also pointed out that in Middle Georgian a new type of verbal tense scheme came into use, which has become all but dominant in the modern language; in this the perfective aspect (to use Russian terminology) is obtained by compounding with prepositions (mostly *da* and *gan—ga*) which have lost all spatial value. This phenomenon, long noticed by grammarians, was customarily ascribed to Russian influence in the modern period, but Šanidze has shown that its roots reach far back into the middle Georgian period.

What, then, is the reason for the ergative? The construction is common to the related south Caucasian languages, though the method of expressing it varies very greatly from one tongue to another. Šanidze's answer is that it arises out of two factors: (1) the transitivity (triprosopic quality) of the verbal form, which permits it to take both a direct and indirect object; (2) the absence of an accusative case. Causative and middle verbs can by their nature fulfill these conditions and hence employ the ergative construction.

Let us first look at the construction used in the Georgian tenses other than the ergative. In the tenses belonging to the incomplete or present group the action takes place in, on or within the psychological object. It affects the object but does not alter or permanently change it or the conditions surrounding it. The object is here put in the dative case which fulfills in Georgian regularly the function of the locative as well. "He kills him," therefore, from the Georgian standpoint, is "He is carrying out killing on him." In the perfect or hearsay tenses the action has gone out originally from the logical subject and is referred back to it. "He has killed John" is therefore approximately, "John's killing was to him," and the psychological subject consequently is put in the dative as the person interested or concerned. Now the situation in the aorist tenses is different. The action is complete, consequently the source of the action must be indicated. The use of subjective and objective pronominal prefixes in the first and second person makes the use of an ergative suffix unnecessary with the pronoun, but in the third person the situation is different. Here the pronominal prefixes may be either subjective or objective, and consequently we find that in the third person singular a pronominal suffix is attached to the logical subject. This form *man* is clearly a deictic pronoun in which the final *n* is obviously related to the plural objective infix *n* which is *only* used in aorist forms. The nominative case, then, in the predicate is, in this instance, a true objective case to which the impulse is transmitted through the verbal form from the deictic ergative subjective suffix, and this, in turn, is referred to in reverse, if the logical object is in the plural, by the verbal infix *n*. In the plural form of the third person the result is differently obtained. The old Georgian plural had a declension which is simplified to the *n*th degree. The nominative ended in *ni*, the oblique cases in *t'a*. This latter form expresses the genitive, dative, instrumental and directive cases. In this instance, the oblique case is used for the subject, the nominative for the objective as in the corresponding singular form. Schematically, then, we can so represent the action.

It is clear that we have here a really striking analogy, though admittedly in a narrow field, with Hurrian. It is, however, precisely here that Speiser's analysis fails to convince me that the

ob.
Hurrian verb is really passive: brother—my—past
love—I makes just as good a dissection from the Caucasian standpoint as brother—my—love—past—me—by. On the other hand, the use of the ergative in Hurrian in spatial and action connections, where we do not find it in Caucasian, leads me to think that the two constructions have arisen independently out of similar gaps and similar needs in both languages. More than this, in my opinion, in the present stage of our knowledge in both fields, it would be unwise to assert.

The remainder of our observations will largely be couched in the form of a series of questions which naturally arise in the mind of a student of Caucasian languages, interspersed with a few points of detail.

p. 86-87 (¶125). Does *man-n* change its form and regimen if 1) rational beings; 2) living beings; 3) inanimate beings are involved? Cf. the Georgian *mqavs*; *mak'us*; *mivis,* all denoting the idea of habeo, possideo.

p. 88: note 55. Do Uraritian materials permit us to ascertain whether *manu* 'esse' means 'to be (on hand)' or 'to exist'?

p. 91 (¶127) *kuru* in return: does this mean back (zürück: geor. *ukun*), or does it refer to the speaker or to the object (geor. *momart', mimart',* zu (mir) her, zu (ihm) hin)? In this connection the Georgian series: *šovris* in medio, *šovrit',* from afar, *šors,* afar, *šorieli,* distant (adj.) is worth considering.

p. 92 (¶128) *edi.* This seems to be the semantic equivalent of the Georgian *t'üs,* 'for,' 'because of,' which comes from the Georgian *t'avi,* head, which is also used reflexively.

p. 96-97 (¶133). On the basis of the materials as presented I should prefer to use the term agglomerative, which would admit of the reference back to the preceding enclitic.

p. 98 (¶137) *—ḫe.* We have to do here with a regional or tribal designation of plural significance, which operates within the bounds of geographical or linguistic areas. It seems to have a close relation in purview to the Georgian ending in *et'i,* which primarily denotes districts or countries, but is also employed to denote a group closely associated with a leading figure, e. g., *azaret'i* 'Αζαρία καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ (Jerusalem Ms. of Prophets, Daniel 3. 10).

p. 100 (¶137) *-ne* is a particle, weakly demonstrative in nature, not properly deictic or anaphoric, which is on its way to becoming a definite article, but has not finished its journey, much like Geor. *igi* (postpositive). Tracing it back to the sense of *one,* as Speiser does, seems to me to be forcing the issue unduly.

p. 105 (¶148). The declension looks rather like Georgian except for the absence of the ablative, as does the addition of the pluralizing particle.

p. 108 (¶150). It is noteworthy that there is no tense differentiation in the use of the ergative such as we find in Georgian, though in another respect the fact that the form is not used in intransitives affords a cogent parallel between the two languages, and also reinforces Speiser's point that it is a phenomenon related to voice and not to time. As stated above, I seriously doubt if we are justified in considering this a passive form, and am inclined to consider it an affixed determinant rather than a case.

p. 110 (¶153). The directive in *t/da* recalls the Georgian counterpart d/ad/da. In Georgian, however, the meaning is definitely into, as the use of the case covers both the Finnish illative and the transmutative. Town names use the -d only, but the *a* partakes of the same character; thus *mat'a* into them, *jojoxet'a* into hell, and the *d* is often not written in forms compounded with the reinforcing particle *-mde,* which Šanidze has recently analyzed very acutely.

p. 111 (¶154). Is the comitative particle *-ra* a case ending or an adverbialized postposition? It makes one think of the Georgian *urt',* which is employed where the association or antinomy (cf. the example given under *c*) is close.

p. 112 (¶155). The close relation between the dative and the locative is not surprising from a Caucasian standpoint.

p. 113 (¶156). Essive would be a better term than stative.

p. 114 (¶157). In the summary the striking phenomenon is that the vowel a seems to characterize objective cases, while the subjective ones employ o/e (subj. gen.).

p. 117 (¶163). The ending *-se* seems to have a parallel in the use of the abstract endings *-ebay / -obay* in certain cases in Georgian; thus *dzegli/ dzeglebay* seem to be used more or less interchangeably in the older texts, both meaning monument.

pp. 118-120 (¶¶165-167). *-ae* recalls the Georgian *ad-i*. *-ad* is the normal form of adverbs in Georgian (the directive case), but when this form is nominalized, it acquires the connotation of necessity; *mocevnay* to arrive, *mocevnadi* 'futura.'

p. 159 (¶193). A good parallel from the Caucasian world is the Georgian cohortative in *-in* and *-ed* (3 pers. sing. and plur.).

The Georgian and Hurrian system of repeating case endings to bind the phrase together is a phenomenon which seems to have been widely spread in this area (e. g., in Elamite), but the Georgian restricts its use within narrow limits, and excludes any personal verbal forms. Again we have parallels, but not, in my estimation, borrowings or influence.

Whether the scattered remarks which are thrown together above will be of any assistance in the interpretation of Hurrian, I do not know, but they seem to show interesting parallels with phenomena drawn from the Caucasian world.

R. P. Blake

Harvard University.

Vvedenie v Tibetskuü Toponimiku. By A. V. Marakuev. Tomsk, 1945. Pp. 19; map.

This 'Introduction to Tibetan Toponymics' comes from the Research Division of the Tomsk Red-Banner Polytechnic Institute named for S. M. Kirov (Naučno-Issledovatelĭnyi Sektor Tomskogo Krasnoznamennogo Politexničeskogo Instituta imeni S. M. Kirova). The author in sending the review copy indicated that it is a "tentative edition"; the material seems to have been reproduced lithographically, the Tibetan characters being drawn in. The wonder is, however, rather that such a work should have been produced at all during the war in the USSR, than that it is not entirely satisfactory esthetically. Pages 1 to 16 are printed on one side of the sheet only, pages 17 and 18 are on both sides of a sheet, p. [19] is the inside back cover, and a map of Tibet at 1: 10,000,000 is on the outside back cover. Figure 1 (p. 2) is a small map (1: 25,000,000) of the 'Countries of Tibetan speech—Böči-yul (Bod-kyi-yul) in the middle of the 20th century.'

The Introduction to Tibetan Toponymics proper occupies pp. 1-9. The paragraph headings are: 1, 'Tibetan toponymics' (p. 1); 2, 'Tibet as a toponymic unit' (1); 3, 'The Tibetan language' (1-3), including 'Table I, Descriptive terms of Tibetan toponymics' (3); 4, 'Tibetan writing' (3-4); 5, 'Tibetan orthography' (5); 6, 'Indexing of Tibetan maps and atlases' (6); 7, 'Transfer of names in Tibetan writing to the most important oriental and occidental writing systems' (6); 8, 'Rendition of Tibetan geographical names in Chinese writing' (6-8), with 'Table II, Chinese transliteration of Tibetan writing'; 9, 'Rendition of Tibetan geographical names in oriental syllabaries' (8-9), with 'Table III, Sanskrit transliteration . . .', and 'Table IV, Manchurian transliteration . . .'; 10, 'Latinized systems for rendering Tibetan geographical names' (9); 11, 'Russian systems of spelling Tibetan placenames' (9). Then follows a 'Project of rules for Russian spelling of Tibetan geographical names' (10-11, §§12-18). A 'List of literature cited' is on p. 12. 'Table V-VIII, Spelling of Tibetan geographical and other names' is on p. 13-16. 'The alphabetical index of geographical names on the "Map of Tibet" by A. V. Marakuev' is on pp. 17-18; p. 19 contains the 'Systematic index of Tibetan geographical names whose Russian equivalents are found on the attached map of Tibet (in Tibetan alphabetical order).'

The work is intended to serve practical purposes, and makes no pretensions to great originality. The author has seen the point that to render geographical names from such a system of writing as the Tibetan, it is necessary to use two systems: a transcription, giving the approximate pronunciation, and a transliteration, giving an exact picture of the original spelling. Marakuev has set up such a double system, the first for Russian. The same

principles were arrived at by the reviewer and his then colleagues at the Board on Geographical Names of the U. S. Department of the Interior in 1945, when we too were confronted by the problem of Tibetan placenames. If we had had Marakuev's little book, we would have been saved much trouble.

It is to be hoped that Marakuev will issue a more extensive and more attractively printed edition of his study, and that copies will be available for the use of interested persons and agencies in this country.

GEORGE L. TRAGER

UNIVERSITY OF OKLAHOMA.

Panipat: 1761. By TRYAMBAK SHANKAR SHEJWALKAR. Deccan College Monograph Series, 1. Pp. xxiv + 141, 9 maps. Poona: DECCAN COLLEGE POSTGRADUATE AND RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 1946. Rs. 12.

On January 14, 1761 near Panipat, Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Afghan, utterly routed a Maratha army with great slaughter. Deccan College inaugurates its Monograph Series with a thorough study of the Panipat campaign, illustrated with several maps of the terrain and of the battle. One lays it down with admiration for the author's assiduity in examining all the source material, especially Marathi sources not exhaustively investigated by previous writers, but with regret at the over-zealous special pleading for the Marathas which often colors the narrative. We learn much of the battle itself and of the unpredictable changes and chances of warfare under the conditions of political anarchy then prevailing. There is a vivid portrait of the opposing armies, each approximately 50,000 strong, each containing mercenary contingents, and each encumbered with a camp-following of servants and women four times as numerous. This account establishes the number of slain (much exaggerated by earlier historians) at approximately 100,000 including troops of both sides and Maratha camp-followers overwhelmed in flight. The author makes it clear that the outcome of the struggle was, on occasion, in real doubt and that the Maratha commander has received more than his fair share of blame for the disaster. With regard to the broader issues involved, however, the narrative is far less satisfactory. Important as this Maratha catastrophe was in making easier the conquest of India by a European power, it is surely misleading to call it 'an historic event on which hung the fate of a nation, the destiny of a continent and the future trend of world affairs for centuries' (p. xviii).

The problems which are not those of military strategy and tactics appear to lead the author into inconsistencies. On the one hand, he seems to want to present the Marathas as a people imbued with an Indian patriotism eager to rid India of the foreign Muslim (i. e. the Afghan) but to work with and through the Indian Muslim by enlisting Muslims in Maratha armies and propping up the moribund Mogul Empire as the only professedly all-India authority which was 'constitutional.' This view is expressed with special vigor on p. xv where the author describes Sadashrivao Bhau, the Maratha commander at Panipat, as 'Regent of the Mughal empire' acting at the behest of the murdered emperor Alamgir II. This thesis is further elaborated on pp. 123-5 in a section entitled 'The Constitutional Basis of the Panipat Campaign.' On the other hand, at more than one point in the narrative, the author is at pains to drive home to the reader his conviction that the Marathas were 'incapable of bigotry, fanaticism, extremes' (p. xv) while Muslims (including Indian Muslims) were frequently treacherous, faithless and false. He criticises the Marathas, for example, for attempting to rule the Punjab through the Mogul administrative machinery without first securing the 'overwhelmingly Hindu' provinces of Allahabad and Oudh, and he excoriates the ruling Muslims in the Punjab for their 'selfish, unpatriotic, and pusillanimous attitude' (p. 10). Also, in discussing the plight of the luckless citizens of Panipat, he says, 'Naturally, they had become hostile to the Marathas and being Muslims for the most part, seem to have acted treacherously from behind in giving news to Abdali. . . . The civil behaviour of the Marathas with such people has cost the Marathas very dearly in history' (p. 72). As far as 'atrocities' go, a franker recognition that there is little to choose between the practices of one army or another in the warfare of the period would be more desirable.

More regrettable perhaps than his approach to such problems, is the author's manner of criticising other authorities, especially Sir Jadunath Sarkar, whose treatment of the subject in his Fall of the Mughal Empire (1934) is chiefly under attack. Irrespective of the merits of this controversy, it is to be hoped that further reflection will induce the author to alter his contention that 'history must be written by one of the nationals' (p. xvi) and that a story such as that of Panipat 'can best be related by one of the nationals; preferably by one belonging to the losing side' (p. xviii). Surely, as India enters a new period in her history, her scholars should be more than ever on their guard against the notion that the history of a nation or of a group within a nation can *only* be properly or objectively written by a member of that nation or that group.

HOLDEN FURBER

THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS

Folk-Songs of Chhatisgarh. By VERRIER ELWIN. With a comment by W. G. Archer. [Specimens of the Oral Literature of Middle India.] New York: OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1946. Pp. lxi + 466. $7.50.

Mr. Verrier Elwin, who finds time along with his many other labors to collect folktales and folk songs of the pre-literate peoples among whom he works, here presents a collection of almost five hundred songs and nine ballads from the Chattisgarh district in the eastern part of the Central Provinces, India. These have been put into good, usually poetic, English, which endeavors to retain the simplicity of the original. The songs are arranged under major headings: the Beginning of Life, Love and the Approach to Marriage, Marriage, Husband and Wife, Life in the Farm, Life in the Woods, Politics and Society, the Dance, Recreation, Ahir Songs, Magic, the End of Life. Each of these is in turn subdivided. Mr. Archer's comment and Mr. Elwin's introduction to the collection as a whole and his brief essays scattered throughout it illuminate material, most importantly by indicating the poetic symbolism, which otherwise would lack for us much of its real significance. The unusual value which this collection has springs from Mr. Elwin's respect for and appreciation of the culture of the people who use the songs, and his own high literary gifts. The ballads contain folk-tale material known variantly in other parts of India. The most obvious of this is a version of the Rasalu legends, which are almost an epic in the Punjab. There is a long bibliography of Indian folk songs and an index. This is altogether a most valuable work. Diacritic indications of names and words are inexact and insufficient. Scholars will, however, be glad to note Mr. Elwin's remark: "The originals of the songs have been prepared for the press by Shamrao Hivale and when the money for their publication is available, we hope to issue them together with the originals of *Folk-Songs of the Maikal Hills* [see JOURNAL 66. 185] under his name."

W. NORMAN BROWN

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

History of Dharmaśāstra (Ancient and Mediaeval Religious and Civil Law). By PANDURANG VAMAN KANE. Vol. III. Government Oriental Series, Class B, No. 6. Pp. xlvi + 1088. Poona: BHANDARKAR ORIENTAL RESEARCH INSTITUTE, 1946. Rs. 30.

The third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra by Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane is in reality the fourth volume of this monumental work on Dharmaśāstras. As with the previous volume, this volume is an excellent encyclopedia of rules relating to the problems dealt with by the author scattered throughout the entire Indian literature, and not only through the Dharmaśāstras. In preparing this volume, he has placed at the disposal of scholars interested in ancient Indian law and politics a splendid work which will be read by them with the greatest interest and appreciation. All Indologists owe a real debt of gratitude to the author.

The volume under review, being the continuation of vol. I and vol. II, parts 1 and 2, is made

up of three main sections: *rājadharma* (seven *aṅgas* of *rājya*, duties and responsibilities of the ruler, ministers, *rāṣṭra*, *durga*, *kośa*, *bala*, *mitra*, purpose of the study of *rājadharma* and the ends of the State), *vyavahāra* (*bhukti*, *sākṣiṇa*, *divya*, decrees, fines, limitation, contracts, debts, pledges, *asvāmivikraya*, *saṁbhūya-samutthāna*, *dattānapākarma*, *saṁvidvyatikrama*, *sīmavivāda*, *vākpāruṣya* and *daṇḍapāryuṣya*, *steya*, *strīsaṁgrahaṇa*, *dyūtasamāhvaya*, *dāyabhāga*, *strīdhana*, etc.), and *sadācāra* (practices of *siṣṭas*, conflict among *śruti*, *smṛti*, and *sadācāra*, customs and *dharmaśāstra* works, *kalivarjya*, theory of *yugas*, customs in modern India, etc.). These are only the most important topics contained in the volume; many others are treated with the author's usual scholarly competence.

In a short review, it is impossible to go into details of this work. The reviewer must of necessity confine himself to major considerations. It should be pointed out that the entire work of the author interprets the rules contained in the Dharmaśastras as they are systematized in these works. However, this system is not perfect from the point of view of the theory of law. The law of obligation, for example, is mixed up with the law of persons or with the criminal law and so on.

In a systematic work such as the one under review, it would perhaps be better if the author would not confine himself to the Indian system of law, but would introduce the system which is generally recognized. In particular, it might be more logical if the *steya*, which may be considered a part of the penal law,[1] were not placed between the chapters relating to *sīmavivāda* and *dāyabhāga*.

Every chapter of the author's work forms a monograph on the subject dealt with by him. However, these monographs cannot be exhaustive, otherwise the volumes would of necessity be twice as large. In this connection, the reviewer's observation on one chapter is not meant as a criticism.

Chapter XVI on Contracts, pp. 411-61, might be more detailed: for example, regarding *ādhi* (p. 427 sqq.), the author might have taken into consideration the *gopya* and *bhogya* as well as *yādṛcchika* and *sāvadhi*, as they are related to each other (Bṛh. X.64, 66, 70, 71, Vi. VI.8, K. 178.10, Mn. VIII.143, 145, N. I.129, Y. II.62, etc.); further, *ādhi* as a real or consensual contract (Y. II.60, N. I.139, Vi. V.180, 184, Kāty. 517, etc.); importance of pledges from the point of view of legal procedure (Bṛh. X.39, Vi. V.184, Kāty. 519-22, 300, 311, etc.); prescription of pledges (Mn. VIII.149, N. I.81, quot. VIII.12, Śukr. IV.5, 445, Y. II.25, 26, K. 191.1-3, Vās. XVI. 16, 17, G. XII.37-9 Kāty. 330, etc.); and some other juridical aspects of this problem. The same relates to *pratibhū* (p. 435 sqq.). Vyāsa enumerates seven kinds of *pratibhū* while ten kinds can easily be defined according to the Dharmaśāstras. Persons suitable to become surety (Kāty. 112, 114-6, Bṛh. X.79, K. 174.18 sqq., Y. II.52, N. XIII.39, Sar. 786, 794); responsibility of sureties in the event of non-performance of obligations by the principal debtor (Mn. VIII.169, Bṛh. X.76, 83, 84, Y. II. 53, 56, 57, Kāty. 539, 540); responsibility of cosureties (Y. II.55, N. I.120, Vi. VI.42, Viv. 480, Kāty. 537, 538); and other problems related with sureties are not dealt with in all necessary detail. With reference to the liability of the husband for the debts of his wife, Bṛh. (VI.53), Kāty. (568, 570) and others are not quoted. With reference to *nikṣepa*, the difference is not drawn either between *depositum* and *fiducia* or between *nikṣepa* and *upanidhi*. Topics on indemnification (Kāty. 596-7, Vy. in Vīr., Bṛh. XI.12); restoration of the thing deposited (Mn. VIII.180, 194, 195, N. II.3, Y. II.65 etc.); denial of the fact of receiving a deposit (Mn. VIII.191, 192, 193, XI.57, Y. III.230, B. II.1, 2, 3, Vi. XXXVI.4, etc.); depositor's claims for deposits never deposited (Mn. VIII.190, 191, Vi. V.171, N. II.13, etc.); use of the thing deposited (N. II.8, Bṛh. XI.13, Y. II.67, K. 178. 1-2); *usucapio*, *praescriptio*, *compensatio* (Mn. VIII.149, N. I.81, Vās. XVI.18, Y. II.25, K. 191. 2, etc.) were only in part considered.

In chapter XII, p. 317 sqq., the differentiation between possession and detention, as well as possession and ownership is not made evident. This differentiation, not clear from the point of view of Indian law, would to a great extent help the interpretation of the rules from the point of view of the theory of law. It seems to the reviewer that in other chapters — in particular, dealing with *asvāmivikraya*, *saṁbhūya-samutthāna*, *sīmavivāda*, *dvyāmuṣyāyaṇa*, etc., — some more detailed aspects from

[1] The *strīsaṁgrahaṇa* and *dyūtasamāhvaya* could also be divided into two parts, i. e., relating to civil and penal law.

the monographic point of view could be added.

Nevertheless, the remarks made above, are not of great importance in comparison with the achievement of this entire work by Mahāmahopādhyāya P. V. Kane.

All scholars in Dharmaśāstras, Arthaśāstras and ancient Indian culture owe a tremendous debt to the author for his third volume of the History of Dharmaśāstra. It is the wish and hope of all that the author's health will make it possible for him to finish his monumental work which will always remain an exhaustive and scholarly encyclopedia on the Dharmaśāstras.

LUDWIK STERNBACH

BHĀRĀTIYA VIDYA BHAVAN, BOMBAY

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

American Oriental Society

MEETING AT WASHINGTON, D. C., 1947

The one hundred and fifty-seventh meeting of the Society was held in Washington, D. C., with sessions in the Washington Hotel, the Freer Gallery of Art, the United States Museum, and the Willard Hotel on April 15, 16 and 17. The following members of the Society registered their attendance:

W. R. B. Acker
W. F. Albright
T. Ashkenazi
T. A. M. Barnett
L. C. Barret
E. G. Beal, Jr.
G. Bechtel
E. Bender
Rhea C. Blue
D. Bodde
N. C. Bodman
P. A. Boodberg
R. S. Britton
W. N. Brown
B. W. Buchanan
Evelyn G. Burch
M. Burrows
G. G. Cameron
S. V. R. Cammann
V. E. Crawford
F. M. Cross, Jr.
Florence E. Day
J. DeFrancis
Mrs. A. S. DeWitt
R. J. C. Dorsey
W. H. Dubberstein
H. H. Dubs
P. E. Dumont
J. J. L. Duyvendak
F. Edgerton
A. G. Edwards
D. M. C. Englert
R. Ettinghausen
Wilma Fairbank
Regina Flannery
M. Fowler
D. N. Freedman
R. N. Frye
E. M. Gale
C. S. Gardner
T. H. Gaster
Mary Jean Gates
H. S. Gehman
H. L. Ginsberg
S. Glazer
A. Goetze
V. R. Gold
L. C. Goodrich
Antoinette K. Gordon
M. Graves
E. Adelaide Hahn
Ardelia R. Hall
R. T. Hallock
R. S. Hardy
Z. S. Harris
H. Engel Hause
C. T. Hodge
A. W. Hummel
T. Jacobsen
G. N. Kates
G. A. Kennedy
Mrs. G. A. Kennedy
C. H. Kraeling
S. N. Kramer
S. C. Lee
G. Levi Della Vida
H. J. Liebesny
C. P. Lo
B. Lyon
T. J. Meek
G. E. Mendenhall
K. H. Menges
J. M. Menzies
R. T. Meyer
G. C. Miles
G. W. Miller, Jr.
J. J. Obermann
C. J. Ogden
A. L. Oppenheim
H. M. Orlinsky
T. C. Petersen
J. A. Pope
M. H. Pope
J. B. Pritchard
Frances E. Roberds
R. C. Rudolph
R. L. Sage
H. S. Santesson
F. D. Schultheis
B. Schwartz
O. R. Sellers
O. Shimizu
P. W. Skehan
M. B. Smith
Marian N. Smith
E. A. Speiser
F. R. Steele
D. von den Steinen
F. J. Stephens
W. F. Stinespring
E. H. Sturtevant
Nancy Lee Swann
E. D. Thomas
Winifred S. Thomas
M. Vogelstein
Marian Welker
A. G. Wenley
J. W. Wevers
C. M. Wilbur
B. H. Willeke
J. A. Wilson
W. L. Wright, Jr.
Doris E. Wrigley
A. S. Yahuda
J. K. Yamagiwa

Total 115

THE FIRST SESSION

The first session of the meeting was called to order by President L. C. Goodrich at 10.00 A. M., Tuesday, April 15, in the Washington Room of the Hotel Washington.

A. BUSINESS MEETING

Report of the Secretary

The Secretary reported as follows:

1. The total number of members now on the roll of the Society is 852. Since April 24, 1946, the date of my last report to the Society, 129 new members have been elected and qualified. In the same period we have lost by resignation 35 and 11 by death.
2. This year marks the fiftieth anniversary of the election to corporate membership in the Society of William Popper, Professor Emeritus of Semitic Languages in the University of California.
3. Upon the invitation of the institutions involved, the Society was or is to be represented on three special occasions during the present academic year as follows:
   (1) The inauguration of Thomas Elsa Jones as President of Earlham College, Richmond, Indiana, November 23, 1946. Our delegate was Toyozo W. Nakarai.
   (2) The National Conference on UNESCO, held in Philadelphia, March 24 to 26, 1947. Our dele-

gates were: John K. Shryock and Alexander C. Soper, III.

(3) The 51st annual meeting of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, to be held in Philadelphia, April 18 and 19, 1947. Our delegate is Derk Bodde.

4. During the present academic year the Secretary has learned of the deaths of the following corporate members. (The date of election to the Society is indicated by the numbers in the parentheses).

George S. Duncan	d. July 9, 1946	(1917)
Florence Walne Farquhar	d. October —, 1946	(1937)
Alice Getty	d. June 12, 1946	(1943)
Roger Sherman Greene	d. March 27, 1947	(1926)
Lucia C. G. Grieve	d. November 26, 1946	(1894)
Lucian Scherman	d. May 29, 1946	(1939)
Henry K. Schoch	d. February 2, 1946	(1934)
Gilbert Campbell Scoggin	d. February 18, 1947	(1906)

The Secretary has likewise been informed of the deaths of three of our Honorary Members:

Gustaf Dalman

Wilhelm Geiger

Heinrich Lüders

Respectfully submitted,

FERRIS J. STEPHENS, *Secretary.*

It was voted that the report be adopted.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

The Treasurer submitted the reports upon the Society's finances for the fiscal year 1946 as follows:

1. BALANCE SHEET

Assets	
Investments (cost)	$53,910.97
Cash held by Yale University, December 31	2,639.72
New Haven Savings Bank, balance December 31	1,095.44
	$57,646.13

Liabilities	
General Endowment:	
Original bequests	$15,300.00
Capital gains	93.33
Life Membership funds	5,191.50
Louise Wallace Hackney Scholarship Fund:	
Original bequest	30,000.00
Capital gains	8.81
Available income	319.40
Reserve Fund	2,000.00
Balance in General Account	1,953.35
Balance in Monograph Account	2,721.12
Balance in Offprint Account	58.62
	$57,646.13

2. GENERAL ACCOUNT

Credits	
Balance January 1, 1946	$ 2,675.50
Annual dues, cash	4,013.01
Annual dues, transferred from Journal account	5.00
Income from investments	1,101.02
Advance payments received	33.35
Monograph Account contribution to budget	250.00
Returned from Secretary-Treasurer's Account	1,031.85
Returned from Librarian's Account	17.03
Returned from Committee on Promotion of Oriental Research	25.00
Returned from Contingency Fund	328.61
	$ 9,480.37

Debits		
Budget appropriations:		
Journal Account	$ 3,400.00	
Editors' Honoraria	400.00	
Secretary-Treasurer's Account	2,400.00	
Committee on Promotion of Oriental Research	25.00	
Committee on Membership	50.00	
Librarian's Account	100.00	
ACLS dues	25.00	
ACE dues	10.00	
Contingency Fund	1,115.50	
Credit transferred to Monograph Account	1.20	
Credit transferred to Offprint Account	.32	
		$ 7,527.02
Balance December 31, 1946		$ 1,953.35

3. Journal Account

Credits		*Debits*	
Budget for Journal	$ 3,400.00	Manufacturing costs	$ 4,807.26
Budget for Honoraria	400.00	Honoraria	395.00
Sales (Yale Press)	755.45	Transferred to General Account for dues	5.00
Sales (Office)	60.98	Editorial Expenses	226.42
Author Refunds	321.63	Expended for Authors	264.67
From Offprint Account	58.67	Postage, express, and supplies	76.27
From Contingency Fund	786.89	Addressograph service	9.00
	$ 5,783.62		$ 5,783.62

4. Offprint Account

Credits		*Debits*		
Balance January 1, 1946	$ 36.73	Cost of No. 20	$ 38.05	
Sales	98.86	Payments to Authors	12.45	
Author payment on No. 20	38.05	Postage	6.17	
Advance payment received	.44	Credit refunded	.44	
Credit transferred from General Account	.32	Paid to Journal Account	58.67	
				$ 115.78
	$ 174.40			
		Balance December 31, 1946		$ 58.62

5. Secretary-Treasurer's Account

Credits		*Debits*	
Per budget	$ 2,400.00	Office Secretary	$ 1,017.72
Sale of addressograph service	12.11	Office Expenses	405.54
Refund of unearned salary of Assistant	25.00	Accounting Service	10.00
Collected for Annual Dinner	28.00	Returned to General Account	1,031.85
	$ 2,465.11		$ 2,465.11

6. Librarian's Account

Credits		*Debits*	
Budget	$ 100.00	Binding	95.51
Catalogue sales	12.54	Returned to General Account	17.03
	$ 112.54		$ 112.54

7. Monograph Account

Credits		*Debits*		
Balance January 1, 1946	$ 5,637.85	Publication cost AOS 29	$ 4,187.60	
Income from Nies Fund	340.10	Reader's Fees	20.00	
Sales	1,664.91	Editorial Expenses	25.41	
Sales in exchange for credits held	30.00	Postage, express and supplies	138.83	
Fees for manuscript readers	20.00	To General Account per budget	250.00	
Credit transferred from General Account	1.20	American Schools of Oriental Research share of sales AOS 29	101.20	
	$ 7,694.06	Museum of Fine Arts, share of sales AOS 20	153.60	
		Yale Press share of sales Barton Royal Inscriptions	13.00	
		Brown University share of sales AOS 29	53.30	
		Credits cancelled in exchange for monographs sold	30.00	
				$ 4,972.94
		Balance December 31, 1946		8 2,721.12

8. Hackney Fund Income Account

Credits		*Debits*	
Income on investments	$ 330.74	Accrued interest on bonds purchased	11.34
		Balance December 31, 1946	$ 319.40

9. Contingency Fund

Credits		*Debits*	
Per Budget	$ 1,115.50	To Journal Account	786.89
		Balance returned to General Account	$ 328 61

10. Summary of Receipts and Disbursements

Receipts		*Disbursements*		
Cash balance January 1, 1946	$ 6,917.95	Purchase of securities	$32,323.61	
From Estate of Louise Wallace Hackney	30,000.00	Membership Committee	50.00	
Life Membership Fees	288.50	ACLS Dues	25.00	
Sale of Securities	2,033.75	ACE Dues	10.00	
Payment on principal of mortgage	116.16	All other cash disbursements as shown in accounts 2 to 8 above	12,068.78	
All other cash receipts as shown in accounts 2 to 8 above	8,856.19			$44,477.39
	$48,212.55	Cash balance December 31, 1946		$ 3,735.16

Signed: Ferris J. Stephens,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Report of the Committee on Investments

Total invested January 1, 1946		$23,635.13
New investments in 1946		32,328.67
		$55,963.80
From sale of 2 Eastern Gas and Fuel bonds	$ 1,936.67	
Payment on principal of mortgage	116.16	
	$ 2,052.83	
Total invested December 31, 1946		$53,910.97

The new investments in 1946 as reported above include $29,955.72 from the principal of the Louise Wallace Hackney Scholarship Fund. The amount reported above from the sale of bonds is the actual cost of the bonds when purchased. The sale actually amounted to $2030.00, and the profit of $93.33 was added to the principal of the General Endowment funds.

The Society now holds the following securities:

Bonds

$ 300.	American Telephone & Telegraph Co., 2¾%, 12/15/61
2,000.	Morris & Essex Railroad, 1st Ref. 3½%, 12/1/2000
2,000.	United States Treasury, 2½%, 12/15/72-67
1,000.	United States Treasury, 2½%, 9/15/52

Stocks

10 shares	American District Telegraph Co., Common
21 "	American Telephone & Telegraph Co., Capital
35 "	American Viscose Corporation, Common
5 "	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railway, Common
12 "	Bankers Trust Co., Common
40 "	Borden Company, Common
18 "	Chemical Bank & Trust Co., Capital
7 "	Connecticut Light and Power Co., Common
11 "	Dow Chemical Co., Common
12 "	E. I. DuPont deNemours & Co., Common
10 "	First National Bank of Boston, Common
18 "	General Electric Co., Common
6 "	Guaranty Trust Co., Common
6 "	International Harvester Co., Common
60 "	International Nickel Company of Canada, Common
40 "	Kennecott Copper Corporation, Common
10 "	National City Bank, Common
35 "	National Dairy Products Corporation, Common
32 "	New Jersey Zinc Company, Capital
3 "	Norfolk & Western Railway Co., Common
61 "	Scovill Manufacturing Co., Common
57 "	Sears Roebuck & Co., Common
50 "	Standard Oil Company of California, Common
28 "	Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, Common
55 "	Texas Gulf Sulphur Co., Capital
3 "	Travelers Insurance Co., Capital

20 " Union Carbide & Carbon Corporation, Common
5 " Union Pacific Railroad, Common
35 " United Aircraft Corporation, Common
12 " United States Steel Corporation, Common
40 " F. W. Woolworth Co., Common

Mortgage

$5,237.00 Louis and Joseph Saturno, 688-90 Dixwell Avenue, New Haven, Connecticut.

Interest rate 5% — Payments of $250. payable April and October 1st covering both interest and principal.

Signed: E. H. STURTEVANT,
Chairman.

AUDITOR'S REPORT

We hereby certify that we have examined the accounts of the Treasurer and of the Committee on Investments of the American Oriental Society, and that we believe them to be correct and in accord with the report submitted.

Signed: MILLAR BURROWS,
Signed: ISIDORE DYEN
Auditing Committee.

January 14, 1947.

It was voted to adopt the reports of the Treasurer, of the Committee on Investments, and of the Auditors.

REPORT OF THE EDITORS

The Editor presented his report as follows:

During the year 1946-47 the editors have published parts 2, 3, 4 of Volume 66 and part 1 of Volume 67. Volume 66 consisted of 342 pages plus two supplements, No. 5 and No. 6, of 31 and 30 pages, respectively. The volume contained in addition to the two supplements, 24 articles, 6 Brief Communications, 25 reviews of books, together with reports of the Society and notes of other societies. The items were distributed as to region in the following manner: Near East and Hittite 18, Middle East 24, Far East 11. Their distribution as to subject matter was: Literature and culture (including philosophy and philology) 24, Grammar and linguistics (both historical and descriptive) 17, History and society 5, Art and archaeology 7. In addition, 4 items were general both as to region and as to content.

In the American Oriental Series one new volume has appeared: Volume 30, a reproduction of William Dwight Whitney's *Roots, Verb Forms, and Primary Derivatives of the Sanskrit Language.* This was published at the instance of the Indic Committee of the American Council of Learned Societies, and with the aid of that Council. Three other volumes which have long been in printers' hands or in various stages of production will finally appear this year: these are Glazer's edition of *Abū Ḥayyān's Commentary on the Alfiyya* which should be off the presses within very few weeks, Oppenheim's *Eames Babylonian Collection,* and Wieschhoff's *Bibliographical Handbook of Negro Africa.*

The Index of the Journal has been completed, and arrangements are now being made for early publication. In addition, several other volumes have been accepted in principle, some this year and some carried over from last year, and it is hoped that it will be financially possible to publish some of them during the coming year. This group includes the previously accepted manuscripts of Kent, von Grünebaum, and Marian Welker, together with the newly accepted Turkic Word Formation of Eleanor Frankle, and the important Comparative Dictionary of the Bushman Languages by Miss D. F. Bleek.

It was voted to adopt the report.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN

The Secretary presented the following as the report of the Society's Librarian:

During the year 1946-47, one hundred and forty-one volumes and one hundred and sixty-one numbers of periodicals have been added to the Library. Of the periodicals one hundred and forty-seven were in continuance of sets already in the Library; fourteen represent sets new to the Library. Sixty-three volumes have been bound. Seven volumes have been loaned to non-resident members of the Society. While no new exchanges have been added during the year a considerable number of those interrupted by the war have been resumed.

The cataloging of books, pamphlets and periodicals is up to date.

The following is the list of accessions for the year:

Abott, N. Two queens of Baghdad, mother and wife of Hārūn al-Rashīd. [1946]

Akurgal, E. Remarques stylistiques sur les reliefs de Malatya. 1946. (Ankara. Universitesi. Dil ve tarih-coğrafya fakültesi. Yayinlari, no. 53. Arkeoloji enstitüsü, no. 3)

American academy for Jewish research. Louis Ginzberg; jubilee volume on the occasion of his seventieth birthday. English [and Hebrew] section. 1945. 2v.

The American Jewish year book, 5706, 1945-46. Vol. 47. 1945.

Ancient India, bulletin of the Archaeological survey of India, no. 1-2, Jan.-July. 1946.

Ankara. Universitesi. Dil ve tarih-coğrafya fakültesi. Dergisi, cilt IV, sayi 2-4. [1946]

Annual bibliography of Indian history and indology, vol. III for 1940, by B. A. Fernandes. 1944.

Armenian quarterly. v. 1, no. 1. 1946.

Ashkenazi, T. Tribus semi-nomades de la Palestine du Nord. 1938. Études d'ethnographie, de sociologie et d'ethnologie, t. II)

Athanasius. The De incarnatione. Pt. 2. The short recension by R. P. Casey. [1946] (Studies and documents, XIV)

Auboyer, J. Les influences et les réminiscences étrangères au Kondō du Kōryūji. 1941. (Publ. du Musée Guimet. Documents d'art et d'archéologie, t. 2)

Avesta. Gathas. Gatha ahunavaiti, by I. J. S. Taraporewalla. 1945.

Aziz, A. The Manṣabdārī system and the Mughul army. [1945?] (*His* The Mughul Indian court and its institutions, 1)

Bacot, J. Grammaire du tibétain littéraire. 1946.

Baroda. Oriental institute. An alphabetical list of manuscripts, v. 1, comp. by Raghavan Nambiyar. 1942. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XCVII)

Baroda. Oriental institute. A descriptive catalogue of manuscripts, v. II. Śrauta sūtras and Prayogas. Comp. by K. S. Ramaswami Śāstri, śiromaṇi. 1942. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XCVI)

Barthold, V. V. Histoire des Turcs d'Asie centrale; adaptation française par Mme. M. Donskis. 1945. (Initiation à l'Islam. Collection publiée sous le patronage de l'Institut d'études islamiques de l'Université de Paris. III)

Bhagavadgītā. The Bhagavadgītā, authorised version. Ed. by Shripad Krishna Belvalkar. 1941.

Bhagavadgītā. The Bhagavadgītā being reprint of relevant parts of Bhīṣmaparvan from B. O. R. Institute's edition of the Mahābhārata for the first time critically ed. by Shripad Krishna Belvalkar. 1945.

Bhagavadgītā. The Bhagavadgītā. English translation, with an introduction, critically expounding the argument of the poem, and index of proper names, by S. K. Belvalkar. 1943.

Bhaṭṭa Lakṣmīdhara. Kṛtyakalpataru. v. II, V, VIII, XI, XIV. 1941-45. 5v. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XCII, XCVIII, C-CII)

Bloch, J. Structure grammaticale des langues dravidiennes. 1946. (Publ. du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'études, t. 56)

Boneschi, P. Une fatwā du grand muftī de Jérusalem, Muḥammad 'Amin al-Ḥusaynī sur les 'Alawītes. [1940?]

Bṛhaspatismṛti. Bṛhaspatismṛti (reconstructed) by K. V. Rangaswami Aiyangar. 1941. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. LXXXV)

Brunschvig, R. La Berbérie orientale sous les Ḥafṣides des origines à la fin du XV^{e} siècle. t. 1. 1940. (Publ. de l'Institut d'études orientales d'Alger, VIII)

Carra de Vaux, B. Tableau des racines sémitiques (arabe-hébreu) accompagnées de comparaisons. 1944.

Castrén, M. A., *comp.* Samojedische Volksdichtung, hrsg. von T. Lehtisalo. 1940. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LXXX III)

Cerulli, E. Etiopi in Palestina, v. I. 1943. (Collezione scientifica e documentaria a cura del Ministero dell' Africa italiana, v. XII)

Cerulli, E. I libro etiopico dei Miracoli di Maria e le sue fonti nelle letterature del medio evo latino. [1943] (R. Università di Roma. Studi orientali, pubbl. a cura della Scuola orientale, v. I)

Chauvin, V. C. Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes ou relatifs aux Arabes, publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885. 1892-1898. 2v.

Chen, S. Sun Yat-sen, a portrait by S. Chen and R. Payne. [1946]

Chiang, Kai-shek. Collected wartime messages 1937-1945, comp. by Chinese Ministry of information. [1946] 2v.

Colman, E. Chinatown, U. S. A. [1946]

Combaz, G. L'Inde et l'Orient classique. 1937. 2v. (Publ. du Musée Guimet. Documents d'art et d'archéologie, t. 1)

Connaissance, revue de culture franco-arabe. 1re année, no. 1-2. Oct.-Nov. 1945. 1945.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. Figures of speech or figures of thought. Second series. 1946.

Coomaraswamy, A. K. Svayamātṛṇṇā: jauna coeli. [1940]

Coral Rémusat, G. de. L'art khmer, les grandes étapes de son évolution, 1940. (Études d'art et d'ethnologie asiatiques, I)

Corbin, H. Les motifs zoroastriens dans la philosophie de Sohrawardî. 1946. (Publ. de la Société d'iranologie. No. 3)

Cory, H. Customary law of the Haya tribe, Tanganyika territory, by H. Cory and M. M. Hartnoll. 1945.

Cuny, A. L. M. Recherches sur le vocalisme, le consonantisme et la formation des racines en "nostratique." 1943.

Dandekar, R. N. Vedic bibliography. 1946. (New Indian antiquary. Extra ser., VII)

Desai, S. F. A changing social structure. Being a collection of data submitted to *ad hoc* committees appointed by the Conference of trusts. 1945.

Dufrenoy, M. L. L'Orient romanesque en France, 1704-1789. 1946.

École française d'Extrême-Orient. Cahiers. Supplément A-E., 1940-45. 1942-46.

École française d'Extrême-Orient. L'école française d'Extrême-Orient de 1940 à 1945. [1946]

Edgerton, F. Sanskrit historical phonology. 1946. (Publ. of the American oriental society, Offprint ser., no. 19)

Field, H. Anthropology in the Soviet Union, 1945. [1946?]

Field, H. Neolithic station in Kizil-Kum Desert, Soviet Central Asia. [1946?]

Field, H. Recent archaeological discoveries in the Soviet Union. [1946?]

Flavigny, R. C. Le dessin de l'Asie occidentale ancienne et les conventions qui le régissent. [1940]

Foucher, A. C. A. La vieille route de l'Inde de Bactres à Taxila avec la collaboration de Mme. E. Bazin-Foucher. Vol. 1. Introduction—Première et deuxième parties. 1942. (Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, t. 1)

[Gaṇapati] Mādhavānala-Kāmakandalā Prabandha, ed. with appendices, preface etc., by M. R. Majmudar. v. 1. 1942. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XCIII)

Ganganatha Jha research institute, Allahabad. Journal. v. III, pt. 1-2. Nov. 1945–Feb. 1946. [1945-46]

Ganganatha Jha research institute, Allahabad. Rules. [1945?]

Glover, T. R. Springs of Hellas, and other essays, with a memoir by S. C. Roberts. 1946.

Glueck, N. The river Jordan, being an illustrated account of the earth's most storied river. [1946]

Guénon, R. La métaphysique orientale. 1939.

Haldar, A. Associations of cult prophets among the ancient Semites. 1945.

Haldar, A. Studies in the Book of Nahum. 1946. (Uppsala universitets arsskrift 1946: 7)

Hallade, M. M. Études d'art indien; la composition plastique dans les reliefs de l'Inde. Préface de R. Grousset. [1942]

Hambly, W. D. Cranial capacities. [1947] (Chicago. Natural history museum. [Publ.] no. 587) Fieldiana: anthropology. v. 36, no. 3. Feb. 4, 1947.

Haribhadra Sūri. Anekāntajayapatākā by Haribhadra Sūri, with his own commentary and Municandra Sūri's supercommentary. v. 1. Critically edited, with an introduction, by H. R. Kāpadīā. 1940. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. LXXXVIII)

Hsü, Lang-kuang. A closer view of China's problems. 1946.

Hume, E. H. Doctors east, doctors west; an American physician's life in China. [1946]

Jayarāśi Bhaṭṭa. Tattvopaplavasiṁha. Ed. with an introduction and indices by Pandit Sukhlalji Sanghavi and R. C. Parikh. 1940. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. LXXXVII)

Kao, K'o-i, *ed.* Chinese wit and humor. Introduction by Lin Yutang. [1946]

Kettunen, L. Vepsän murteiden lauseopillinen tutkimus. 1943. (Suomalaisugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LXXXVI)

Kunst, J. The peoples of the Indian archipelago. 1946.

Law, B. C. Aśvaghoṣa. 1946. (Royal Asiatic society of Bengal. Monograph ser., v. I)

Leroi-Gourhan, A. Documents pour l'art comparé de l'Eurasie septentrionale. 1943.

Leroy, J. Introduction à l'étude des anciens codes orientaux. 1944.

Levi, D. Early Hellenic pottery of Crete. 1945. [Princeton monographs in art and archaeology, XXIII]

Levi della Vida, G. Les Sémites et leur rôle dans l'histoire religieuse. 1938. (Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque de vulgarisation, t. 53)

Lewin, B. Uppsala Universitetsbibliotheks samling av arabiska 1500- och 1600-talstryck. 1945.

Loo, Pin-fei. It is dark underground. [1946]

Macdonald, D. B. Autobiographical notes. 1946.

Mahābhārata. The Mahābhārata for the first time critically ed. by Vishnu S. Sukthankar, S. K. Belvalkar. Fasc. 9-15. 1940-[1945] 7v.

Mādhavakara. Paryāyaratnamālā, ed. by Dr. Tarapada Chowdhury. 1946.

Meile, P. Introduction au tamoul. 1945. (Les Langues de l'Orient. 1. Manuels, 1.)

Meunié, J. Shotorak. 1942. (Mémoires de la Délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan, t. 10)

Mīnorskiĭ, V. F. Vīs u Rāmīn, a Parthian romance. [1946]

Mishra, Umesha. Index to the English translation of Shabara-bhāṣya. 1945. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. CIII)

Mokṣākara Gupta. Tarkabhāṣā. Ed. with a Sanskrit commentary by Embar Krishnamacharya. 1942. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XCIV)

Mouterde, R. Le limes de Chalcis [by R. Mouterde et A. Poidebard] Plans et relevés de J. Lauffray et S. Mazloum. 1945. 2v. (Délégation générale de la France au Levant. Mission archéologique permanente. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique, t. 38)

Mus, P. La lumière sur les six voies. Tableau de la transmigration bouddhique d'après des sources sanskrites, pāli, tibétaines et chinoises. I. Introduction et critique des textes. 1939. (Université de Paris. Travaux et mémoires de l'Institut d'ethnologie, XXX V)

Mūsā ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ḫāqān. La qaṣīda fi 'l-fuqahā' di Mūsā b. 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ḫāqān [by P. Boneschi]. 1939.

Mūsā ibn 'Ubayd Allāh ibn Ḫāqān. La qaṣīda fi 't-taǧwīd, nota di P. Boneschi. 1938.

Naḍapāda. Sekoddeśaṭīkā being a commentary of the Sekoddeśa section of the Kālacakra tantra. The Sanskrit text ed. for the first time with an introduction in English by M. E. Carelli. 1941. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XC)

Narendraprabha Sūri. Alaṅkāramahodadhi of Narendraprabha Sūri. Ed. critically by Lalchandra Bhagawandas Gandhi. 1942. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XCV)

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New York. Metropolitan museum of art. Costumes from the Forbidden city, by A. Priest. 1945.

New York. Metropolitan museum of art. Egyptian statuettes; text by N. E. Scott, photographs by C. Sheeler. 1946.

Obermann, J. How Daniel was blessed with a son, an incubation scene in Ugaritic. 1946. (Publ. of the American oriental society. Offprint ser., no. 20)

Paasonen, H., *comp.* Mordwinische Volksdichtung, hrsg. und übers. von P. Ravila. III. Bd. 1941. (Suomalais-ugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LXXXIV)

Pāñcharātra. Paramasaṁhitā ⟨of the Pāñcharātra⟩ Ed. and tr. into English with an introduction by S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. 1940. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. LXXXVI)

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Pārthasārathi Miśra. Śāstradīpikā (Tarkapāda). Tr. into English by D. Venkatramiah. 1940. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. LXXXIX)

Pernot, H. O. Mythes astrals et traditions littéraires. 1944. (Les Littératures populaires de toutes les nations. Nouvelle série, t. VII)

Posti, L. Grundzüge der livischen Lautgeschichte. 1942. (Suomalaisugrilaisen seuran Toimituksia LXXXV)

Praag, A. van. Droit matrimonial assyro-babylonien. 1945. (Allard Pierson stichting, Universiteit van Amsterdam. Archaeologisch-historische bijdragen XII)

Purushottama Deva. Le Prākṛtānuśāsana, par L. Nitti-Dolci. 1938. (Cahiers de la Société asiatique, VI)

Quimby, G. I. Toggle harpoon heads from the Aleutian islands. [1946] (Chicago Natural history museum. [Publ.] no. 582) Fieldiana: anthropology, v. 36, no. 2. Dec. 31, 1946.

Raja Singam, S. D. India and Malaya through the ages, a birthday gift to Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy. [1946]

Rowley, H. H. The re-discovery of the Old Testament. [1946]

Rustomjee, F. The life of holy Zarathushtra (the prophet of the Parsees) with a foreword by Sohrab Jam-

shedjee Bulsara and an introduction by D. N. Wadia. 1944.

Sabbagh, T. La métaphore dans le Coran. Préface de M. L. Massignon. 1943.

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Sa'dī. Kings and beggars, the first two chapters of Sa'dī's Gulistān, tr. into English with introduction and notes, by A. J. Arberry. 1945.

Sankalia, H. D. Investigations into prehistoric archæology of Gujarat. 1946. (Śrī-Pratāpasiṁha Mahārāja Rājyābhisheka grantha-mālā. Memoir no. IV)

Sarda, Har Bilas. Life of Dayanand Saraswati, world teacher. 1946.

Smith, W. S. A history of Egyptian sculpture and painting in the old kingdom. 1946.

Spoehr, A. Changing kinship systems. [1947] (Field museum of natural history. Publ. 583) Anthropological series, v. 33, no. 4. January 17, 1927.

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Tantras. Śaktisaṅgama tantra, critically ed. with a preface by B. Bhattacharyya. v. II. Tārākhaṇḍa. 1941. (Gaekwad's oriental ser. no. XCI)

Tcherikover, A. The Jews in Egypt in the Hellenistic-Roman age in the light of the papyri. 1945.

Theertha, S. D. New light on the Indian problem. [1946]

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Wang, Kung-hsing. The Chinese mind. [1946]

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Woodward, C. V. The battle for Leyte Gulf. 1947.

Worrell, W. H. A short account of the Copts, illustrated by W. B. Shaw. 1945. [Henry Russel lecture for 1941-42]

Yoshida, S. In memoriam. An address in honor of the University of Hawaii Varsity victory volunteers who died in World War II. 1946. (University of Hawaii. Occasional paper no. 44)

JAMES T. BABB,
Librarian.

It was voted to adopt the report.

Report of the Membership Committee

Mr. B. W. Buchanan, Chairman of the Committee on Membership, presented his report as follows:

The Committee consisted of:

Mr. Richard E. Fuller for the Northwest, U. S.
Dr. H. N. von Koerber for the Southwest, U. S.
Dr. Ilse Lichenstadter for the Middle Atlantic States
Dr. A. J. Sachs for New England
Mr. Laurence Sickman for the Middle West
Rev. Dr. R. J. Williams for Canada
Dr. G. E. Wright for the North Central States and Mr. Briggs W. Buchanan as Chairman

Due to the direction taken by the Committee's activities, the main burden of work fell on Doctors Lichenstadter and Sachs, and they deserve the credit for most of what has been achieved. Fruitless attempts were made to secure committee members for abroad. Because of the short time at our disposal nothing at all was done about the Southern United States.

For unavoidable reasons, the Committee did not begin to function until the latter part of 1946. Nevertheless, as the first committee since 1943, it was deemed advisable for us to investigate as many ways of expanding the membership as possible. It is to hoped that thereby the work of future committees will be made easier. With this end in view supplemental statements are to be supplied listing the members of the Society who assisted in our campaign as well as some of the unexplored or partly explored possibilities for expanding our membership. The report now being read is intended to cover only general methods and results.

As of April 14, 70 applications for membership had been received. It is to be hoped that at least 5 more will be added as a result of the 50 odd letters to prospects sent out just recently. A brief outline follows of the extent to which our various methods of attack contributed to these results.

The usual procedure in the past was to organize the Committee on a geographical basis and then in each region to ask selected key members for lists of prospects. This is probably still the most practical method under ordinary circumstances. However, due to the gap in time since our last campaign, it was decided to appeal to all of the members, either to secure new members directly, or to send the names of prospects to the Committee. Unfortunately only 54 of our members, less than 10 per cent of the total, responded to this appeal and of these almost all were on the East Coast. Such meager results seem hardly to justify the outlay involved of time and money, even though the latter was partly contributed. However the 54 who did answer secured 46 new members directly and sent in the names of 76 prospects of whom 11 joined; a total of 57 applications by this procedure. Furthermore the appeal drew a response from many members who had never before participated to any great extent in the Society's activities. The new interest thus enlisted would seem to justify the use of such a broad appeal at regular intervals in the future. Moreover the

device of having members secure new members directly proved effective and is recommended even for the usual more limited campaign.

Besides the general appeal, an attempt was made to build up the Society in regions where it had few members. Due to the short time at our disposal little more than a beginning was made in Canada. Perhaps the greatest regional weakness was in Southern California where we had less than 10 members. In an effort to remedy this situation Dr. von Koerber has approached nearly 50 prospects, mostly taken from the membership lists of the Archaeological Institute and the Society of Biblical Literature. Due to the delay arising from a severe illness it will be some time before the results of his work are known. The Committee recommends that the attempt to seek out and remedy such regional weaknesses be continued.

Likewise for other regions the Committee sought prospects in the membership lists of other societies. This work had barely begun before our term of office expired and so far only 13 applications have been received. However, it is recommended that this method for securing new members be further investigated, and perhaps extended to include writers on oriental subjects and subscribers to journals in the oriental field.

The basis for any future campaign will undoubtedly be to seek lists of prospects from those among our members who teach oriental subjects. Through the colleagues and the students whose support can thus be enlisted the tradition of scholarship for which we stand will be preserved and enriched. The Committee has attempted to supplement this approach with a view to broadening the scope of the Society and securing wider support for its work.

Respectfully submitted,

BRIGGS W. BUCHANAN,
Chairman.

It was voted to adopt the report.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

The Secretary presented the following as the report of the Executive Committee:

Since the last annual meeting of the Society, the Executive Committee has conducted the Society's business by means of mail votes and one special meeting of the Committee. In the course of the year the Committee has voted to elect to corporate membership in the Society 112 persons; to Life Membership one person; and to reinstate as corporate members 3 persons.

In addition to various matters of routine business, the Committee has taken the following action by mail vote:

1. The Secretary was instructed to seek legal advice regarding a clause in the act of incorporation of the Society limiting its income from endowment to three thousand dollars a year. The Secretary secured a legal opinion to the effect that this section has been virtually nullified by subsequent legislation in the state of Massachusetts where the Society was incorporated.
2. Mr. Briggs W. Buchanan was appointed Chairman of the Membership Committee.
3. Our delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies were instructed to vote against the revision of the By-Laws of the Council in the form in which they were presented at a special meeting of the Council held in Boston, September 20, 1946. Subsequently, after the draft of the revised By-Laws had been modified and later adopted by the Council, our Committee voted to ratify the Council's new By-Laws.
4. The following budget for the year 1947 was adopted:

Resources:

Estimated income from dues	$3,600.00
Estimated income from investments	1,200.00
Contribution from Monograph Account	250.00
Balance in General Account January 1, 1947	1,953.35
	$7,003.35

Appropriations:

Journal Account	$3,900.00
Editors' Honoraria	400.00
Secretary-Treasurer's expense	700.00
Secretary-Treasurer's assistant	1,235.00
Committee for Promotion of Oriental Research	25.00
Committee on Membership	60.00
Librarian's Account	100.00
ACLS dues	50.00
ACE dues	10.00
Unappropriated contingency fund	523.35
	$7,003.35

A special meeting of the Committee was held in Philadelphia on December 28, 1946, to consider our position in regard to the proposed reorganization of the American Council of Learned Societies. It was agreed to recommend to the Council some additional changes in the revised draft of its proposed By-Laws and to leave our delegates uninstructed when the revised draft should come up for passage at the Council's annual meeting in January, 1947.

The Committee met last night at the Willard Hotel. There were present five members of the Committee, two past Presidents of the Society, and one Associate Editor. The Committee heard reports of the various committees and officers responsible to it. The Secretary presented the names of nine candidates for membership in the Society. These were duly elected. The following appointments were made: (1) Chairman of the Committee on the Promotion of Oriental Research, J. A. Wilson; (2) Chairman of the Committee on the Enlargement of Resources, B. W. Buchanan; (3) Representative of the Society on the Board of Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research, O. R. Sellers; (4) Chairman of the Committee on Membership, A. Sachs.

It was voted to adopt the report:

The Secretary presented a recommendation of the Executive Committee that the Society should endorse the following resolution offered by the New York Oriental Club:

Whereas, The traditional world leadership of French orientalists in wide fields of scholarship is gratefully acknowledged;

Whereas, The collections of oriental books in Paris are of global importance, now enhanced by destruction of others elsewhere in Europe;

Whereas, These library resources have heretofore been lamentably dispersed, uncoordinated, and accessible only under conditions which prevent their full utilization even by the most distinguished French scholars;

Whereas, The leading orientalists of France, long irked by these increasingly intolerable obstacles to their research, have now initiated a movement to consolidate the oriental libraries of Paris in one building, and to make their contents fully accessible to all accredited scholars under the most modern conditions approved by library science;

Whereas, It is planned that the proposed consolidated library be dedicated as the Foundation Pelliot, in honor of the late professor whose researches have illumined the philological and historical problems of nearly the whole of Asia; therefore,

It is hereby resolved that the New York Oriental Club desires to applaud the initiative already taken by our French colleagues, and to express the hope that substantial help may be found in this country in support of a project which cannot fail to advance the common interests of orientalists throughout the world.

It was voted to endorse the resolution.

The Secretary presented a recommendation of the Executive Committee that the Society should elect to Honorary Membership thirteen persons. Professor F. Edgerton, Chairman of the Committee on Honorary Membership, then offered the following nominations:

Jules Bloch, Sanskritist, Dravidianist.
Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Specialist in modern Indo-Aryan languages.
Yin-k'o Ch'en, Chinese history and literature.
Albert Debrunner, Sanskritist and Indo-Europeanist.
Vasily M. Alexéiev, Sinologist.
J. J. L. Duyvendak, Sinologist.
Köprülü-Zade Mehmed Fuad, Turkish Philologian and Historian.
Wladimir Golénischeff, Egyptologist.
Louis Massignon, Arabist.
Johannes Pedersen, Arabist and Hebraist.
Louis Renou, Indologist.
Knut Tallqvist, Assyriologist.
R. L. Turner, General Indic linguist.

It was voted that the above named persons be elected to Honorary Membership in the Society.

Report of the Society's Delegates to the American Council of Learned Societies

Professor W. N. Brown presented the following report:

The past year was an eventful one in the history of the Council. Normal business was subordinated to a concerted drive for certain changes and reforms in the Council's organization and general policy. It required two separate meetings to adopt a new code of laws and approve the necessary transitional measures. The full effect of the reorganization will not be apparent before 1949.

The first draft of the revised laws was discussed in a special meeting held in the Statler Hotel in Boston on September 20-21, 1946. Our Society was represented by its two delegates, Mr. Franklin Edgerton and Mr. Speiser. The final vote was 31 to 10 in favor of the proposed revision. Since 32 affirmative votes were required, the plan was defeated. Both your delegates voted against it.

A new draft was submitted to the constituent societies by mail in advance of the forthcoming annual meeting of the Council. The Executive Committee of our Society held its own special meeting in Philadelphia, on December 28, 1946, to consider the matter. Both your delegates were also in attendance, as was Mr. Brown, in his capacity as member of the Committee and as delegate-elect scheduled to replace Mr. Edgerton. The discussion resulted in a number of suggested changes and additions which were communicated to the appropriate officers of the Council.

At the thirtieth annual meeting of the Council, held on January 30-31, at Rye, N. Y., the Council, by a vote of 40 in favor and 2 against, acted to amend the Constitution and Bylaws by substituting for them in their entirety the code of laws entitled "The Bylaws of the American Council of Learned Societies" and to instruct the Secretary of the Council to submit this Amendment to the constituent societies for ratification. The vote of your delegates, Mr. Brown and Mr. Speiser, was this time in the affirmative. The Amendment would take effect, in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, upon ratification by a majority of the constituent societies. By March 22, 1947, thirteen societies, including the American Oriental Society, had ratified the Amendment, thereby providing the required majority. No negative vote had been received by that date. Accordingly, the new code was declared adopted and in effect as of that date.

The principal changes include: representation of each society by a single delegate, instead of two as heretofore, after the present delegates had served out their full terms; the addition of eight members-at-large, to be elected in the annual meeting from a panel selected by the Board of Directors from among the members of the Constituent societies, and containing at least twice as many names as the number of members-at-large to be elected; a Board of Directors consisting of eight members elected from a panel at least twice that size, and the four principal officers of the Council; and a Nominating Committee to prepare lists of nominations for

council officers and members of the Board of Directors. These new provisions are calculated to increase the efficiency of the Council by reducing the total number of its delegates while broadening at the same time its base through the addition of the members-at-large; and to safeguard democratic procedures, through the operation of the Nominating Committee, as regards the elected officers and members.

Mr. Waldo Leland retired last summer as Director of the Council, after intimate and continuous association with the Council since its inception. Mr. Richard H. Shryock was elected Acting Director at the special meeting in Boston. Dr. Cornelius Krusé, Professor of Philosophy at Wesleyan University, has been elected, to take office this fall.

Mr. W. C. DeVane was elected Chairman of the Council at the annual meeting in January, to succeed Mr. F. N. Robinson.

W. N. Brown,
E. A. Speiser.

It was voted to adopt the report.

Report of the Society's Representative to the American Schools of Oriental Research

Professor O. R. Sellers, the Society's representative on the Board of Trustees of the American Schools of Oriental Research, presented his report as follows:

Though the political situation in the Near East has been turbulent, the American Schools of Oriental Research resumed and carried on operations in the field with success during the present academic year. Through the resourcefulness and energy of the Director, Professor Nelson Glueck, the School in Jerusalem was able to inaugurate a schedule of classes with numerous field trips. Mrs. Glueck and their son were with him in the summer of 1946. In the summer the Annual Professor, the distinguished Arabist Professor Arthur Jeffery, and Mrs. Jeffery arrived and, after considerable difficulty, a new station wagon was delivered. Also, for the first time since the beginning of the war, there was a student body, including three fellows. While there were many restrictions in Jerusalem and the noise of battle frequently was heard in the School, it was possible to travel about the country with considerable freedom. So the students were able to visit the sites of the principal excavations in both Palestine and Transjordan.

At the end of 1946 Professor Glueck, who had resigned as Director, came back to America. He had maintained admirably the standing of the School and continued his archaeological activities during the trying years of World War II and the later troubles in Palestine. It was fortunate that Professor Jeffery was at the School; for he is finishing the year admirably as Acting Director. During the holidays he took the members of the School in the station wagon on a trip to Egypt, in which they drove up the Nile as far as Luxor. There was for a brief period danger that Professor and Mrs. Jeffery, who are British subjects, would be deported when the order came to evacuate all British civilians; but Professor Glueck was able to prevent the applying of the order to them. So the year should be completed most satisfactorily.

Prospects for 1947-48 are excellent. Professor Burrows, President of the Schools, will go out as Director. Professor Sherman E. Johnson has been appointed Annual Professor and Professor Toyozo W. Nakarai, Visiting Professor. Applications for fellowships are under consideration.

The School in Baghdad also resumed activity with the going out of Professor S. N. Kramer as Annual Professor. He sailed in July for Istanbul, where he worked in the museum until Christmas and found important additions to the Babylonian mythological material. He then went to Baghdad, where he was received cordially, given facilities for work in the museum, and allowed to visit the excavations of the Iraq Government. For next year Professor Albrecht Goetze has been appointed Annual Professor. With regret the Trustees have accepted the resignation of Professor E. A. Speiser as Director. His successor soon will be appointed.

After ten years of distinguished service as Treasurer of the Schools, Dr. Warren J. Moulton has resigned and Mr. Kingsley Kunhardt has been elected as his successor.

The *Bulletin* and *The Biblical Archaeologist* have maintained their high standards and appeared regularly, though occasionally delayed by difficulties of the printers. The supply of Professor Burrows' *What Mean These Stones* is exhausted and there will be a new printing in May. It is hoped that Vol. XXIV of the *Annual, Seal Impressions of Nuzi* by Edith Porada, will be issued before summer. The first number of the new quarterly publication of the Schools, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies*, has appeared and the second number is being prepared. The mimeographed Newsletter, which Professor Glueck brought to a high standard of interest and information, is being continued by Professor Jeffery.

Altogether the outlook for the Schools is promising.

O. R. Sellers.

It was voted to adopt the report.

President L. C. Goodrich appointed Professors C. H. Kraeling and D. N. Rowe to serve as auditors to examine the accounts of the Secretary-Treasurer and of the Committee on Investments for the year 1947.

President L. C. Goodrich appointed Professor W. N. Brown, Dr. A. W. Hummel, and Professor G. A. Kennedy to serve as a Committee on Resolutions.

Dr. G. G. Cameron, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, presented the following nominations:

For President: Harold H. Bender;
For Vice-President: O. R. Sellers;
For Secretary-Treasurer: Ferris J. Stephens;
For Editor: Zellig S. Harris;
For Associate Editors: Murray B. Emeneau and George A. Kennedy;
For Librarian: James T. Babb;

For Member of the Executive Committee (term expiring 1950), Derk Bodde;
For Chairman of the Nominating Committee for 1948, Walter E. Clark;
For Members of the Nominating Committee (term expiring 1949), Roland G. Kent, J. Philip Hyatt, Herrlee G. Creel.

It was voted to ask the Secretary to cast a unanimous ballot for the election of the persons nominated.

Dr. G. G. Cameron reported that the Nominating Committee had instructed him to submit for the Society's consideration the proposal that future nominating committees should not feel obliged to nominate for President the person holding the office of Vice-President. After hearing numerous opinions, both for and against the proposal, it was voted that for the ensuing three years the Nominating Committee be instructed in no case to nominate for the Presidency the person currently holding the office of Vice-President; and that it is the sense of the Society that hereafter election as Vice-President should not be considered automatically as a stepping stone to the Presidency.

B. Presidential Address

President L. C. Goodrich presented his address on the subject, The Cultural Opportunity in China Today.

C. Communications

The following communications were presented:

W. N. Brown, University of Pennsylvania: The Name of the Goddess Minakṣi 'Fish-eye.'

T. H. Gaster, Dropsie College and Library of Congress: Myth in the Ancient Near East.

The session adjourned at 12:30 P. M.

SECOND SESSION

The second session began at 2:00 P. M. of the same day in the auditorium of the Freer Gallery of Art with W. F. Albright presiding. The following communications were presented:

L. C. Barret, Trinity College: Concerning a Concordance to the Kashmirian Atharva-Veda (10 minutes).

R. C. Rudolph, Royal Ontario Museum: Dynastic Booty: An Altered Sung Bell (illustrated).

J. J. Obermann, Yale University: An Incantation Scene in Ugaritic (illustrated).

S. N. Kramer, University of Pennsylvania Museum: Preliminary Report on the Tablet Collection of the Iraq Museum (illustrated).

F. R. Steele, University of Pennsylvania Museum: The Lipit-Ishtar Law Code (illustrated).

C. H. Kraeling, Yale University and Dumbarton Oaks: Architectural Features of a Synagogue of the Dispersion (illustrated).

Marian N. Smith, Columbia University: Hindu-Moslem Influences in Sikkism.

The session adjourned at 4:45 P. M.

At 7:00 P. M. of the same day the members of the Society and their friends and invited guests met in the Congressional Room of the Willard Hotel for the annual subscription dinner. The attendance was 95. Following the dinner Professor J. A. Wilson of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago addressed the Society on the subject, Future Work on the Past. Following the address Miss Florence E. Day presented a selection of slides of recent photographs taken in Afghanistan.

THIRD SESSION

The third session consisted of three simultaneous group meetings held on Wednesday, April 16.

A. Near East Group

The group met at 9:30 A. M. in Room 43 of the United States National Museum, with E. A. Speiser presiding. The following communications were presented:

H. S. Santesson, New York: Baraka—Nurse to Mohammed.

G. C. Miles, American Numismatic Society, N. Y.: Two Epigraphical Documents from Mahād Dhahab in the Hidjāz (10 minutes).

V. E. Crawford, New Haven, Conn.: An Ishbī-Irra Date Formula (10 minutes).

W. F. Albright, Johns Hopkins University: The Byblian Inscriptions of the Tenth Century B. C.

G. Levi Della Vida, University of Pennsylvania: Prospects for Arabic and Islamic Studies in the U. S. A.

M. Burrows, Yale University: The Immanuel Prophecy, Isaiah 7 (10 minutes).

T. J. Meek, University of Toronto: The Metrical Structure of Psalm 23.

A. S. Yahuda, New School for Social Research: Semitological Glosses to Egyptian Texts.

B. Middle East Group

The group met at 10:00 A. M. in Parlor C of the Willard Hotel with W. N. Brown presiding. The following communications were presented:

R. I. McDavid, Washington, D. C.: Numerical Classifiers in Burmese.

In the absence of Mr. McDavid his paper was read by Mr. Mutziger.

K. H. Menges, Columbia University: Etymological Notes on: 1) Gūr-Xān, the title of the Qara-Xytaj (Si-Liao) rulers, and 2) Old-Russian *kolymagz* "high cart" and the name of the Qalmyqs.

F. Edgerton, Yale University: On the Nature of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Tradition.

M. Fowler, Cambridge: Rig-Veda 10, 27, 14: *bṛhánn achāyó apalāśó árvā* (10 minutes).

P. E. Dumont, Johns Hopkins University: A list of Indo-Aryan Names from Mitanni, Nuzi and Syrian Documents.

L. Sternbach, New York: Indian Tales Interpreted from the Point of View of the Smṛtis.

In the absence of Dr. Sternbach his paper was read by title only.

C. Far East Group

The group met at 9:30 A. M. in Parlor A of the Willard Hotel with A. W. Hummel presiding. The following communications were presented:

E. Reifler, Aurora University, Shanghai: The Complementary Nature of Chinese and Foreign Philology.

J. DeFrancis, Alexandria, Va.: The Earliest European Dictionaries of Chinese.

O. Shimizu, Columbia University: A Report on Studies Concerning the Nihon Kenzai-sho Mokuroku.

J. K. Yamagiwa, University of Michigan: Reforms in the Language of Newspapers in Japan.

R. S. Britton, New York University: The Date of Shang Wu-Ting.

S. C. Lee, Michigan State College: The Attitude of Confucius Toward Religion (10 minutes).

D. Bodde, University of Pennsylvania: Tolstoy and China.

F. D. Schultheis, University of Washington: Mencius. 2, 9, 2.

Nancy Lee Swann, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton: The Han mile or *li*.

FOURTH SESSION

The fourth session began at 2:00 P. M. on the same day in the auditorium of the Freer Gallery of Art, with T. J. Meek presiding. The following resolution was presented by H. H. Dubs:

The American Oriental Society desires to take this occasion, presented by the reorganization of the American Council of Learned Societies, to express its keen sense of appreciation for the broad scholarship, brilliant imagination, and indefatigable energy which have been expended by Mortimer Graves over the last eighteen years in constructively promoting the study of Asia in the United States.

It was voted to adopt the resolution.

The following communications were presented:

P. A. Boodberg, University of California: Logography, Lexigraphy and the Latinization of Chinese and Japanese.

H. S. Gehman, Princeton University: The Hebraic Use of *kaí* in the Books of Samuel (10 minutes).

M. Vogelstein, Hebrew Union College: Hezekiah and Merodach Baladan.

H. L. Ginsberg, Jewish Theological Seminary of America: Collaboration and Government in Exile in the Sixth Century B. C. (10 minutes).

E. A. Speiser, University of Pennsylvania: Nuzi Society According to Recently Published Texts.

A. Goetze, Yale University: Shulgi Omina.

H. M. Orlinsky, Jewish Institute of Religion: Did Origen Ever Compile a Tetrapla in Addition to his Hexapla?

The following papers were read by title only:

R. J. Williams, University of Toronto: Notes on Some Akkadian Wisdom Texts.

D. I. Macht, Baltimore: Hebrew References to Pemphigus or Pemphigoid Eruptions.

The session adjourned at 4:45 P. M.

FIFTH SESSION

The fifth session began at 9:30 A. M. Thursday, April 17th in the auditorium of the Freer Gallery of Art with F. Edgerton presiding. Professor W. N. Brown presented the report of the Committee on Resolutions as follows:

The American Oriental Society in session at its one hundred and fifty-seventh meeting held in Washington, D. C., April 15, 16 and 17, records its gratitude to the institutions and individuals who have helped to make the meeting a success.

It is especially grateful to the Freer Gallery of Art which gave to the Society the hospitality of its auditorium for the three days of the meeting and to the Gallery's Curator and staff who gave their time and personal effort to the entertainment of the Society.

The Society is also grateful to the United States National Museum which kindly provided a room for one of the morning sessions. The Society acknowledges with thanks its obligation to the Washington Hotel for the use of one of its large assembly rooms and to the Willard Hotel for the use of rooms in which were held various meetings.

It was voted to adopt the resolution and to instruct the Secretary to transmit copies of them to the appropriate persons.

The following communications were presented:

F. J. Stephens, Yale University: A New Inscription of Enlil-bani, King of Isin (illustrated).

S. Glazer, Library of Congress: The Oriental Club of Washington (10 minutes).

E. Adelaide Hahn, Hunter College: Hittite *-za*.

C. P. Lo, Yale University: Phonetic Substitutions in Chinese Loanwords from Sanskrit and Other Middle Indic Languages.

Florence E. Day, Washington, D. C.: Islamic Collections in the Kabul Museum, Afghanistan (10 minutes).

M. B. Smith, University of Chicago: The Myth of the Persian Origins of Gothic Architecture.

The following communications were read by title only:

H. Colle, San Francisco: A Challenge to the Theory of Derivative Concepts of Pharmaceutical Origins.

Mary I. Hussey, Mount Holyoke College: Notes on Some Anatomical Terms in Old Babylonian.

H. L. Lutz, University of California: *eiero, iaro, iera* in Relation to the Name of the River Nile.

Z. S. Harris, University of Pennsylvania: A Distributional Analysis of Semitic Paradigms.

H. A. Rigg, Western Reserve University: A Study of the Practices Alluded to in the Koran at Surah IX 37.

The meeting adjourned at 12:00 noon.

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

MIDDLE WEST BRANCH

OF THE

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY

The Middle West Branch of the American Oriental Society held its thirtieth annual meeting on April 18 and 19, 1947, at the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies at the University of Michigan, in joint session with the Mid-West Section of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis.

The following members attended one or more sessions:

Margaret E. Bertsch
Raymond A. Bowman
Charles S. Braden
William F. Edgerton
Esson M. Gale
Gustave E. von Grünebaum
Clark Hopkins
Elinor M. Husselman
Ralph Marcus
Herbert G. May
James M. Plumer
Maurice T. Price
Earl H. Pritchard
Henry A. Sanders
Keith C. Seele
Louise A. Shier
Hide Shohara
Max Vogelstein
Leroy Waterman
Herold J. Wiens
William H. Worrell
Martin J. Wyngaarden
Joseph K. Yamagiwa

THE FIRST SESSION

(April 18)

The business meeting of the Society was called to order at 2:00 P. M. by President William F. Edgerton. The minutes of the preceding meeting were approved as printed in JAOS 66:340-342. The President appointed the following committees: Nominating Committee: Raymond A. Bowman and Joseph K. Yamagiwa; Auditing Committee: Charles S. Braden and Joseph K. Yamagiwa; a joint Committee on Resolutions was also appointed, with Charles S. Braden as the representative of our Society. The business meeting adjourned.

With President Bowman of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis presiding, the following papers were read:

"PGR: A Canaanite Cult Object in the Old Testament."
David Neiman, University of Chicago

"The Martyrdom of St. Phocas and the Dying Prayer of Athanasius; Fragments from a Coptic Papyrus Codex."
Elinor M. Husselman, University of Michigan

"Comments on Hebrew Universalism."
Herbert G. May, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology

"Peter's Denial of Christ."
Ralph Marcus, University of Chicago

"Herodotus' Chronology of the Lydian and Persian Empires, and its Historical Implications."
Max Vogelstein, Hebrew Union College

"The Function of the Long Periods of Political Disorder in the History of China."
Earl H. Pritchard, Wayne University

"The Political and Geographical Significance of Chinese Place Names."
Herold J. Wiens, University of Michigan

THE SECOND SESSION

The program of the evening session consisted of the two presidential addresses:

"Aramaeans, Aramaic, and the Bible."
Raymond A. Bowman, University of Chicago, President, Mid-West Section, Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis

"The Government and the Governed in the Egyptian Empire."
William F. Edgerton, University of Chicago, President, Middle West Branch, American Oriental Society

THE THIRD SESSION

(April 19)

The business meeting of the Society was called to order at 9:00 A. M. by President Edgerton. The Treasurer submitted the following report, which had been audited and was now declared approved by the Auditing Committee:

FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE MIDDLE WEST BRANCH OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY, APRIL 19, 1947

Balance on hand April 27, 1946.....	$103.77	
Six months' interest on same, at 1%..	.52	
		$104.29
Expenses:		
Society's share of the expenses of the joint program.....	$ 21.20	
Postage	.16	
		21.36
Balance: cash on hand.....		$ 82.93

Respectfully submitted,

KEITH C. SEELE,
Secretary-Treasurer.

Audited and approved:
CHAS. S. BRADEN,
JOSEPH K. YAMAGIWA.

April 19, 1947.

The Nominating Committee submitted its report, and the following nominees were elected unanimously:

President: Herbert G. May
Vice-President: Clark Hopkins
Secretary-Treasurer: Keith C. Seele
Members of the Executive Committee: William F. Edgerton, Charles S. Braden.

The Joint Committee on Resolutions submitted the following report:

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON RESOLUTIONS
AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY AND SOCIETY OF BIBLICAL LITERATURE AND EXEGESIS—APRIL 19, 1947

The Committee recommends that we express hearty approval of the arrangement for a joint meeting of the two Societies. It is hoped that other such joint meetings may be arranged in the future.

That we express our deep appreciation of the good work of the officers of the societies during the year, especially do we applaud their decision to meet outside the Chicago area. We hope that this policy will be followed in the future, at least every other year, since it affords the membership an opportunity to become better acquainted with what is being done in various centers.

We desire to thank the local committee which has made such adequate arrangements for our meetings. Seldom have the organizations met in more sumptuous or comfortable surroundings. Our stay in Ann Arbor has been most pleasant. The subscription dinner was a delightful occasion.

We are greatly indebted to the University of Michigan for the complimentary luncheon so graciously provided, setting thus a most excellent example which it may be hoped that other host institutions will follow!

The Tea offered by the Department of Oriental Languages at the conclusion of the formal program furnished opportunity for a most pleasant hour of fellowship, and was deeply appreciated by everyone.

Respectfully submitted,

PAUL DAVIES, S. B. L. E.
CHAS. S. BRADEN, A. O. S.
The Committee.

This resolution was approved by a vote of both societies.

The following papers were read, with President Edgerton in the chair:

"Harmonization in the Caesarean Text of Mark."
Edward F. Hills, Oak Park, Illinois
"The Figurative and the Literal in the Gospel Tradition."
Paul E. Davies, McCormick Theological Seminary
"The Treasuries of Solomon's Private Chapel."
Leroy Waterman, University of Michigan
"The Nature of the Arabic Literary Effort."
Gustave E. von Grünebaum, University of Chicago
"Early Christian Art in the Near East." (Illustrated)
Clark Hopkins, University of Michigan
"Suicide and Sacrifice." (Illustrated)
James Marshall Plumer, University of Michigan
"Notes on the Names of Islamic Musical Instruments."
William H. Worrell, University of Michigan

THE FOURTH SESSION

The final session began at 2:20 P. M., with President Raymond A. Bowman of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis in the chair. The following papers were offered:

"Recent Trends in Finno-Ugric Linguistics." (By title)
Thomas A. Sebeok, Indiana University
"The Exposition of Ps. 36: 1-4." (By title)
William A. Irwin, University of Chicago
"Paul and *hoi exō* ['the non-Christians']." (By title)
Horace Abram Rigg, Jr., Western Reserve University
"Some Characteristics of Pitch Accent in Japanese."
Hide Shohara, University of Michigan
"The *Ger* in Deut. 23: 8."
Lester J. Kuyper, Western Theological Seminary
"Reforms in the Language of Law in Japan."
Joseph K. Yamagiwa, University of Michigan
"The Novelist Discovers the Orient."
Charles S. Braden, Northwestern University